

Studies in Demography, No 1

STUDIES IN INDIA'S URBANIZATION
1901-1971



INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

STUDIES IN INDIA'S URBANIZATION 1901-1971

ASHISH BOSE

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FOREWORD

A systematic study of urbanization is a recent phenomenon even in the developed countries. In India, attempts have been made from time to time to conduct socio economic surveys in selected cities in order to understand the implications of the increasing pace of urbanization and the consequent problems of urban development and planning. Town planners have also conducted specific surveys in several cities to meet their own requirements of urban planning. But there has hardly been any attempt to study urbanization in India as a process from the historical, demographic, economic, social and other points of view.

The Institute of Economic Growth took the lead in establishing an Urban Research Section as a part of the Demographic Research Centre in order to conduct continuous studies on the process of urbanization primarily from the demographic standpoint. The Ministry of Health and Family Planning finances several Demographic Research Centres all over the country with the object of strengthening research in the field of demography with particular reference to fertility and family planning. On the initiative of Dr V K R V Rao, the scope of such research was extended and internal migration and urbanization were designated as major areas of demographic research. The Institute's Demographic Research Centre is, in fact, the only Centre which has a separate Urban Section exclusively devoted to the study of urbanization.

The work of the Urban Research Section is broadly on the following lines

- (i) An intensive analysis of the trend of urbanization in India and the changing structure of the urban population, based primarily on census data,
- (ii) Specific studies relating to selected aspects of urban development, selected cities, and regions in order to understand the process of urbanization at the sub-national level
- (iii) The evaluation of policies including population policy, urban policy, housing policy etc in the context of the five year plans,
- (iv) *Ad hoc* studies which go beyond urban demography, for example, studies relating to urban economics urban administration etc
- (v) Documentation in regard to the growing literature on urbanization in India, inventory of statistical source material, evaluation of statistical data, etc

An earlier volume published by the Institute (Ashish Bose: *Urbanization in India: An Inventory of Source Materials*, Academic Books, Bombay, 1970) discusses in detail the major sources of data for the study of urbanization in India; it also gives an extensive bibliography of urban studies in India which covers not only urban demography but also urban economics, urban sociology, urban history, urban geography, urban administration and urban planning.

The present volume contains a series of studies on different aspects of urbanization in India; it starts with an evaluation of the definition of the term "urban" adopted in the Indian censuses and ends with a discussion of the demographic implications of population and environment for development planning. In the last part of the book a series of statistical tables on urban India and rural-urban contrasts is presented for ready reference of all students of the subject.

It will be seen that this volume goes well beyond the scope of urban demography and covers subjects like land prices and land speculation, housing policies, regional development, urban administration, municipal socialism, etc. We hope that the studies presented here will stimulate further research on urbanization and urban development in India, and that our Urban Research Section will itself bring out more intensive studies, especially on the basis of the rich statistical material collected in the 1971 Census of India.

The analysis presented in this volume should apply to several other developing countries in the world which are undergoing rapid urbanization. Several of the papers presented here have an Asian perspective. Incidentally, Dr. Ashish Bose participated and presented papers both at the First Asian Population Conference held in New Delhi in 1963 and the Second Asian Population Conference held in Tokyo in November 1972.

A special feature of the book is the inclusion of the latest available 1971 Census data in the statistical section of the book and also a quick analysis of urbanization during the 1961-71 decade. When the last pages were being printed, the publishers were good enough to include the latest data and some of the analytical material, thereby making the book as up-to-date as possible.

The Institute hopes to widen the scope of urban research in India so as to include studies on urban economics too. This volume, along with its earlier companion volume on the source material for the study of urbanization, should serve as a good starting-point for comprehensive economic-demographic studies on urbanization in India.

In consequence of a recent decision by the Institute to run a series of "Studies in Demography," along with the two other series entitled "Studies in Asian Social Development" and "Studies in Economic Growth," this volume also becomes the first volume in the first-named series.

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PREFACE

This book is primarily concerned with the demographic aspects of urbanization in India. Most of its statistical analysis is based on census data. Wherever possible the historical perspective has been maintained by a study of trends in urbanization from 1901 onwards. The emphasis, however, is on the last two decades (1951-71).

The material in this book is organised in seven parts. Part I gives an overview of the process of urbanization in India and is concerned with some emerging issues in urbanization viewed from the demographic, economic, sociological and political angles.

Part II is concerned with concepts and definitions. Chapter 2 examines the definition of "urban" in the Indian census from 1901 to 1971, while Chapter 3 gives the results of the application of three eligibility tests to each of the 2,700 towns and cities in 1961.

In Part III which deals with the phenomenon of urban growth for the period 1901-71, Chapter 4 is devoted to the period 1901-61 and Chapter 8 to the decade 1961-71. The projections of urban population for the 1971-81 decade are discussed in Chapter 9. A detailed discussion on urban growth during 1951-61 is given in Chapter 5, while the industrialization urbanization process during this decade is discussed in Chapter 7. The stagnation of small towns is discussed separately in Chapter 6.

Part IV contains two papers on internal migration. Chapter 10 analyses the migration streams in India based on 1961 Census data, while Chapter 11 relates migration to the linguistic dispersal in India.

Part V specifically deals with urban Delhi as a case study. Chapter 12 reports the findings of our study on land prices and land speculation in urban Delhi for the period 1947-67. Chapter 13 is concerned with house rents in selected luxury colonies in Delhi and with the emergence of the new rich in a fringe village where agricultural land was sold for residential use.

Part VI is devoted to urban planning and policy. Chapter 14 discusses some broad issues in the planning of satellite and new towns and also of industrial regions. This chapter also gives a broad profile of India's most important industrial region namely, the Durgapur Ranchi Rourkela region. Chapter 15 is concerned with urban housing and urban policy, while Chapter 16 examines specifically the inhibiting factors in urban development and housing.

Chapter 17 on "Municipal Socialism" is based on a study of the autobiographies and biographies of several national leaders in India who were involved in municipal work in the early years of their political careers. A plea for evolving a national system of cities through integrated planning of urban development is made in Chapter 18, while some demographic and ecological implications of environment and population for development planning are the subject matter of Chapter 19.

Part VII is wholly devoted to a statistical presentation which gives a profile of urban India and also indicates the rural-urban contrasts. It contains 182 tables primarily based on census data and supplemented by data from the National Sample Surveys and other studies. The last section gives the latest (1971) Census data, to the extent available when most of the book was already set up in type, and this makes the book as up-to-date as possible. All the tables given in this Part have been prepared in such a manner that an intelligent layman, without any knowledge of statistics, can understand and make use of these. The tables are not meant for advanced research workers who need more data for their detailed analyses. Perhaps such workers may profit from our earlier book on *Urbanization in India—An Inventory of Source Materials* (Academic Books, Bombay, 1970), which comments in detail on the statistical source material for the study of urbanization. Our primary objective in preparing this set of tables was to bring together the relevant demographic, economic and social data on the urban population of India, for ready use of students of urbanization belonging to different disciplines. Specialists may also find the tables useful for their own analyses.

The nineteen chapters in this book are based on several research papers, some of which were prepared to meet specific demands. We are grateful to the institutions, organizations, United Nations Agencies and editors of journals at whose invitation these papers were prepared. All the papers, however, have been thoroughly revised and updated while preparing this book. The latest material from the 1971 Census has also been incorporated wherever possible.

It will not be practical for us to list all persons and institutions to whom we are indebted. We mention only a few.

The initial version of Chapter 1 was presented at a symposium on Urban India held at Duke University, Durham, USA in 1969. A part of Chapter 2 was published in the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, January 1964. The initial version of Chapter 3 was published in the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, July-September 1968. Chapter 4 is a revised version of our paper published in the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, January 1965. The initial version of Chapter 5 was presented at an all-India seminar on population at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, in 1964. Chapter 6 is based on our paper presented at the USSR General Conference at London in 1969. Chapter 7 is a revised version of our paper presented at the Asian Population Conference, New Delhi, 1963. It also incorporates material from our paper presented at the World Population Conference, Belgrade, 1965. Chapter 8 is based on our quick analysis of the 1971 Census data. Chapter 9 incorporates our paper presented at an all-India seminar on population orga-

nized jointly, in 1971, by the Indian Association for the Study of Population and the Institute of Economic Growth. The initial version of Chapter 10 was presented as a paper at the IUSSP Regional Conference at Sydney in 1967. Chapter 11 is a revised version of our paper presented at a seminar on "Language and Society in India," held at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, in 1968. Chapter 12 is drawn from our report on *Land Speculation in Urban Delhi* prepared for the National Buildings Organisation in 1968. Chapter 13 is partly based on two articles published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* "Housing the Rich in Delhi," (June 3, 1967) and "The New Rich in a Delhi Fringe Village" (written jointly with Chaman Singh, March 8, 1969). Chapter 14 is based on our paper (jointly prepared with P. B. Desai) on "Economic Considerations in the Planning and Development of New Towns" prepared for the United Nations symposium on the Planning and Development of New Towns held in Moscow in 1964. This chapter also incorporates material from our paper on the Durgapur Ranchi Rourkela complex prepared for the 13th Annual Town and Country Planning Conference, Ahmedabad, 1964. Chapter 15 is based on our paper prepared for the Regional Conference on Population Policy organized by the Population Council of India in Madras in 1970. Chapter 16 is a revised version of our paper prepared for the National Seminar on Housing Policy, held in New Delhi in 1972. Chapter 17 draws on the material in our review of "Administration of Urban Areas" prepared for the Indian Council of Social Science Research in 1971, a part of which was published in the *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 20, 1971. The initial version of Chapter 18 was published in *Social Change*, New Delhi, Vol. I, No. 1, April 1971. Chapter 19 is based on our paper presented at the Second Asian Population Conference organized by ECAFE in Tokyo in November 1972.

The massive computational work involved in preparing the 182 statistical tables presented in Part VII was done by Mrs. S. Dhanota and Miss Jatinder Bhatia, while the checking was done by Mr. J. B. Kansal and Mr. K. G. Jolly. After Mrs. Dhanota left the Institute, Miss Bhatia took up the major responsibility for the computational work. In addition, she has ably assisted us at all stages in the preparation of the manuscript, proof reading and in compiling the Index. Mr. J. B. Kansal also helped at all stages till he left the Institute. Mr. N. K. Kapoor from our Library extended his ready help at all times, especially in the preparation of the Index. The stenographic and typing work was cheerfully done by Mr. H. L. Mehta while Mr. B. Ramamurthy undertook much of the tedious work of typing the tables.

We must record our appreciation of the excellent field work done by Mr. Vir Narain in connection with our Study on Land Speculation in Delhi and also of the skilful collection of primary data by Mr. Chaman Singh in respect of the compensation money paid to the landowners in a fringe village of Delhi. We are grateful to all colleagues of the Demographic Research Centre who helped in various ways on several occasions. In particular, we are indebted to Mr. P. B. Desai for his intellectual companionship, comments and criticism at all stages of our work. We are deeply grateful to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, under whose Directorship the Urban Research Section was established in 1961, and also

to the former Director of the Institute of Economic Growth, Professor P. N. Dhar, and to the present Director, Dr. A. M. Khusro, for their help, encouragement and sustained interest in our research projects.

We wish to thank Mr. A. Chandra Sekhar, Registrar-General, India, for his help and co-operation in giving us quick access to census material. We owe a heavy debt to Mr. Asok Mitra, former Registrar-General, India, for his ungrudging help at all stages of our research work. Under his leadership, the Census made the first bold attempt to collect and analyse in great detail data on internal migration and urbanization, and thus made a systematic and comprehensive study of urbanization in India possible.

Finally, we record our sincere appreciation of the environment of the Institute of Economic Growth and especially of the physical environment of the residential quarters which has made research a rewarding experience.

Institute of Economic Growth
Delhi
December 1972

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST REVISED EDITION

In this edition, we have added new statistical material under Section XV of Part Seven — Supplementary Tables, 1973. The tables presented in this section are based on the latest available data from the Census of India 1971 (one per cent sample data), post-enumeration check (preliminary results), vital statistics data collected under the sample registration system and an all-India sample survey of family planning practices in India conducted by the Operations Research Group of Baroda. Apart from adding these new tables, we have revised the tables which were already in the book. While revising the tables in Part Seven, we have replaced the provisional figures of the 1971 Census by the final figures, wherever possible. It has, however, not been possible for us to do an extensive revision of the text at this stage to take note of the final figures of the 1971 Census.

We wish to record our appreciation of the excellent computational work involved in revision of this book done by Miss Jatinder Bhatia of the Demographic Research Centre.

ASHISH BOSE

Institute of Economic Growth
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PART ONE

The Process of Urbanization

THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA—AN OVERVIEW

Urbanization as a Process

URBANIZATION, in the demographic sense, is an increase in the proportion of the urban population (U) to the total population (T) over a period of time As long as U/T increases there is urbanization. However, theoretically it is possible that this proportion remains constant over time in a situation where there is absolutely no rural to urban migration and both the rural and urban populations grow at the same rate. In such a case, there will be urban growth without urbanization. But in so far as the absolute urban population will increase in such a situation, there will be problems of urbanization regardless of the fact that the rate of urbanization is zero. We shall use the expression "process of urbanization" in a comprehensive sense and not in the statistical sense of an increase in U/T . Viewed thus, the process of urbanization is a continuing process which is not merely a concomitant of industrialization but a concomitant of the whole gamut of factors underlying the process of economic growth and social change.

There is also a school of thought which takes a "social welfare" view of urbanization which links it up invariably with housing and slums, and urban policy for this school tends to get identified with housing policy. It is our contention that the housing approach to urbanization puts us on the wrong track and the sooner we abandon it the better. Certainly, people must have houses to live in but they must *first* have the jobs which will bring them the money to pay the rent. What purpose is served by making projections of housing requirements for the anticipated growth of population, making estimates of housing deficiency, and quoting staggering figures for investment in housing essential for solving the housing problem? This linkage of urban development with housing has been taken for granted in several international seminars and conferences. The consequence is that urbanization becomes an appendage of housing and is left out of the mainstream of discussions on economic growth.

This loss of perspective has serious consequences indeed in terms of urban policy and implementation of urban development plans. To mention one such consequence, we may refer to the tendency to view urbanization as setting solely a town planning problem. Undoubtedly, town planning is important

of the 1961 census, figures which betrayed him, but this only evoked a mild comment from him "Some preliminary results from the 1961 census show, however, that urbanization has not moved rapidly since 1951"³ In his summing up of the seminar discussions Asoka Mehta observes "Two tremendous forces have been unleashed in India today a relatively rapid rate of population growth and an increasingly rapid rate of urbanization"⁴

The 1961 census results came as a big surprise to demographers, economists and planners Even the most pessimistic projection (i.e., the "high" projection) of 1961 population made by any demographer or government agency turned out to be an under-estimate The rate of growth of population revealed was unexpectedly high—21.5 per cent for the 1951-61 decade On the other hand, all the urban projections turned out to be over estimates and the 1961 census revealed an unexpectedly low rate of urban growth, namely, 26.4 per cent for the 1951-61 decade (without taking note of a definitional change of "urban" during 1951-61), or, to be more correct, 34 per cent, adjusted for definitional change⁵ The proportion of urban population to the total population increased at a snail's pace, from 17.3 per cent in 1951 to 18.0 per cent (19 per cent if the adjustments for the new definition are made) in 1961 Thus urbanization during the 1951-61 decade can by no means be called spectacular, staggering or tremendous (terms which were used earlier to describe the oncoming urbanization) Further, in view of the well known generalizations concerning the high positive correlation between industrialization and urbanization, the results of the 1961 census were baffling in the face of the fact that the 1951-61 decade was marked by rapid industrialization, synchronizing as it did with two five-year development plans in India

At the Berkeley seminar, Bogue and Zachariah talked of rural-urban migration as "by far the major component of urbanization" and as "the chief mechanism by which all the world's great urbanization trends have been accomplished"⁶ But a couple of years later, when the 1961 census results were available, Zachariah noticed a downward trend in rural-urban migration in India during the 1951-61 decade and observed

It is surprising that the rural-urban migration decreased by about 37 per cent at a time when the country had successfully completed two Five Year Plans and undergone their concomitant social and economic changes . . . Search for a comprehensive explanation for the decrease in rural-urban migration during 1951-61 must await the publication of the complete census data for 1961⁷

³ Ibid., p. 9

⁴ Asoka Mehta "The Future of Indian Cities: National Issues and Goals," in Roy Turner (ed.) *op cit.*, p. 413

⁵ See Chapter 2 of this book

⁶ Donald J. Bogue and K. C. Zachariah "Urbanization and Migration in India," in Roy Turner (ed.) *op cit.*, p. 28

⁷ K. C. Zachariah and J. P. Ambannavar "Population Redistribution in India: Inter State and Rural-Urban," in Ashish Bose (ed.) *Patterns of Population Change in India, 1951-61* New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1967, p. 105

but preparation of master plans for cities becomes an exercise in futility unless the *economics* of urbanization is considered, unless the cost of the urban infrastructure is taken into account, in short, unless urbanization is viewed as an aspect of economic growth. Another consequence of the housing approach is the seeking of solutions based on discouraging migration to cities, disregarding the fact that lack of housing can scare an insignificant middle-class but not the bulk of migrants from rural to urban areas. To invoke the powerless god of locational policy to keep out the tide of migrants is to invite frustration, as recent economic history testifies. To condemn urbanization as an evil and warn people to keep out of cities is a cry in the wilderness. We wish to make it clear at the outset that it is our contention that the process of urbanization is not only desirable but essential for generating economic growth and social change in India.

Migration and Urbanization¹

Problems of urbanization in India were first thrashed out in considerable detail at an international seminar¹ held at Berkeley (California) in 1960. This seminar resulted in a major contribution to the study of urbanization in India in the form of a book² which was published in 1962. The timing of this seminar, however, was somewhat premature in view of the oncoming census of India, 1961. The massive data collected at this census introduced a new dimension in the study of urbanization in India. In this chapter we will discuss issues in the light of events which call for a modification in the views formulated at the Berkeley seminar. We will also discuss such issues as could not be foreseen at that stage. We must make it clear, however, that we do not propose to conduct a post-mortem of the Berkeley seminar. We will merely take up the thread where it was left in 1960 and also consider the experience in the last decade (1961-71) in the light of the first results of the 1971 census.

In an admirable postscript, Roy Turner, the editor of the Berkeley papers, concludes: "The character of the seminar may be taken as evidence of the desire, the energy and the ability, on the part of those responsible, to tackle heroically the challenges offered by a coming urban population growth of unprecedented scale."³ The apprehension of an unprecedented rate of urban growth was reinforced or perhaps stemmed out of Kingsley Davis's projections of *migration* into cities ranging from 86 million to 258 million people during the period 1950-2000. Though Davis admits that his "high" projections are "fantastic" he concludes: "When we realize that this will be only part of the growth of cities, that the cities will also be growing rapidly from natural increase, we see that the work of accommodation in Indian cities almost defies imagination."⁴ Davis did get a chance to look into the preliminary figures

¹ International seminar on "Urbanization in India" sponsored by Kingsley Davis, Richard L. Park and Catherine Bauer Wurster at Berkeley, California in 1960.

² Roy Turner (ed.): *India's Urban Future*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁴ Kingsley Davis: "Urbanization in India: Past and Future," in Roy Turner (ed.): *India's Urban Future*, pp. 20-21.

the urban unemployment rates are high and there also exist pools of under-employed persons. All these factors act in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from rural to urban areas. We have called this the "push-back" factor. If new employment opportunities are created in the urban areas, the first persons to offer themselves for employment are the marginally employed persons already residing in the urban areas, unless, of course, special skills are required. Thus, paradoxically enough, rapid population growth becomes a factor in slowing down the rate of migration from rural to urban areas. This is quite contrary to what the push theory would have us believe.

The analysis of the 1961 census data on urbanization also reveals that the content and form of urbanization are undergoing modifications. Urban to urban migration, especially migration from small towns to big cities, is becoming increasingly important. This is another factor slowing down the tempo of rural to urban migration. Statistically speaking, however, intra urban migration cancels out when we consider urban India as a whole and it is only rural-urban migration and the natural increase in population which account for an increase in the urban population of the country as a whole, but this is certainly not true of individual cities and towns or of urban populations in the different States of India. Thus demographers tend to ignore intra urban migration. The 1961 census data, for the first time in the history of census in India, have made it possible to analyse all the migration streams: rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to urban and urban to rural. In spite of the well known limitations of migration data based on the place of birth, it is now possible to have a fairly clear idea of migration streams. Prior to the 1961 census, it was well-known that the mobility of the population in India was very limited and, in support of this, data on internal migration based on place of birth were quoted from the census. For example, in 1901 only 3.3 per cent of persons were enumerated in States other than the State of place of birth. The proportion was only 3 per cent according to the 1951 census and it was again 3.3 per cent according to the 1961 census. It must be noted here that, in all these cases, the unit of observation was the State and not the place of enumeration. The 1961 census collected data for the first time with reference to the exact place of enumeration and this reveals a very different picture. Considered this way, the percentage of migrants to total population in 1961 was 30.7 and not 3.3. This is an indication of very considerable mobility: about one third of the total population was enumerated outside the place of birth. Thus the thesis about the immobility of the Indian population was conditioned by the limitations of the data: the new data do not lend support to this thesis.

The 1961 census collected data for the first time on the duration of residence of migrants in the place of enumeration. In chapter 10, "Migration Streams in India," we have analysed this data in some detail. Interestingly enough, there was a large inconsistency between the yearly rural to urban migration flow and the decennial rural to urban migration flow, and there is no reason to believe that this was a statistical discrepancy. To quote a few figures, the rural-urban migration during the year preceding the 1961 census was 2.44 million. On this basis one would expect a figure of roughly 24.4 million for rural-

In a subsequent study of Greater Bombay, Zachariah found the same trend towards decrease in migration during 1951-61 even in this leading city of India. According to his calculations, in Greater Bombay, natural increase in population during 1941-51, which was 243 thousand, shot up to 558 thousand during the 1951-61 decade, while net migration into Bombay, which was 950 thousand during 1941-51, decreased to 600 thousand in the 1951-61 decade.¹⁰ The 1941-51 decade was, no doubt, an abnormal decade considering the influx of refugees as a result of the Partition of India in 1947, but the fact remains that the share of natural increase in population in urban growth has increased substantially in the last decade compared to the previous decade.

Arising out of this discussion, the first set of questions which we may pose are: What were the underlying factors which were responsible for the comparative slowing down of the pace of urbanization during the 1951-61 decade? Will this trend persist in the decades to come? Or, will massive rural to urban migration be the main theme of urbanization in the future? Either way, what are the implications of these trends in terms of planning for urban development? We attempted to answer some of these questions in the light of the 1961 census data in two of our papers: "Population Growth and the Industrialization-Urbanization Process in India"¹¹ and "Urbanization in the Face of Rapid Population Growth and Surplus Labour: The Case of India."¹² In this connection we may refer to the "over-urbanization" thesis¹³ which gained widespread currency, especially among demographers from the West commenting on the Asian situation, a thesis which was successfully exploded by Sovani¹⁴ in 1964 though he did not base his conclusions on the 1961 census data. Our analysis of the 1961 data supports Sovani's viewpoint. It has become almost a ritual to analyse the causes of rural-urban migration in terms of push and pull factors. Sovani exposes the weakness of such an analysis. We have argued that migration analysis based on push and pull factors tends to over-simplification.¹⁵ Further, push and pull factors must be interpreted in the overall demographic context. Under conditions of rapid population growth as a result of natural increase (i.e., births minus deaths), the push factor operates everywhere and not only in the rural areas. In fact there is a "push-back" factor in urban areas. In India, for example, the urban labour force is sizable,

¹⁰ K. C. Zachariah: *Migrants in Greater Bombay*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1968, p. 15.

¹¹ Ashish Bose: "Population Growth and the Industrialization-urbanization Process in India," *Man in India*, Calcutta, Vol. 41, October-December 1961, pp. 255-75.

¹² Ashish Bose: *Urbanization in the Face of Rapid Population Growth and Surplus Labour: The Case of India*. Delhi, Institute of Economic Growth, 1963 (mimeo). Published in *Indian Population Bulletin*, No. 3, New Delhi. Office of the Registrar-General, 1967.

¹³ Unesco Research Centre. *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO seminar, Bangkok, 1956. Calcutta: Unesco Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, 1957.

¹⁴ N. V. Sovani: "The Analysis of 'Over-urbanization,'" *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. XII, No. 2, January 1964. Also in N. V. Sovani: *Urbanization and Urban India*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1966.

¹⁵ Ashish Bose: *Urbanization in India: An Inventory of Source Materials* (see Chapter 4). New Delhi, Academic Books, 1970.

and very little attention has been paid to the economics of urban development, apart from housing and slum clearance?

It must be pointed out here that the Government of India did think seriously of urban problems as early as in 1954 and the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission sponsored socio-economic surveys in 21 Indian cities which revealed very rapid rates of population growth during 1941-51. These cities were selected in an *ad hoc* manner and all the surveys were sample surveys. The reports of 15 of these city surveys are available in published form.¹⁵ We do not intend to comment here on the findings of these surveys beyond referring to just one aspect, namely, the incidence of poverty in Indian cities. One would have thought that with the gradual economic development of the country the incidence of poverty would decline but it seems it is the other way about. We must hasten to add, however, that no such data exist for urban India as a whole. There are only two cities—Poona and Sholapur—for which comparable data exist at two points of time, thanks to the resurveys conducted in these cities. It may be noted that Poona is primarily an administrative city and an educational centre while Sholapur is an industrial city known for its cotton textile industry. A socio-economic survey was conducted in Poona by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in 1937, the resurvey in 1954 was sponsored by the Planning Commission. The 1938 socio-economic survey of Sholapur also was undertaken by the Gokhale Institute, the resurvey in 1955 was conducted by a research scholar from the Gokhale Institute. Both these surveys reveal the growing poverty of these cities. It was found that in Poona City the general incidence of poverty increased between 1937 and 1954 by 16 per cent. The situation in Sholapur was found 'alarming'. In 1938 about 84 per cent of the families were below the poverty line. In 1955 the comparable figure was 93.

Commenting on the growing poverty of Poona Gadgil says "That this should have happened at the end of a series of years of comparatively uninterrupted brisk economic activity is a matter of concern and provides a challenge to planners and framers of policy."¹⁶ Commenting on the situation in Sholapur, Pethe says "The deterioration in the already appalling conditions of poverty and destitution is a matter of deep concern especially when it is viewed against the background of the industrial and urban character of the city of Sholapur and of the rise in incomes and economic activity during the period of war and later national economic planning."¹⁷

We may also refer here to a sample survey of urban income and saving in India conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research which revealed that about 86 per cent of urban households in India reported an income of less than Rs. 3000 per year in 1960 which incidentally was the

¹⁵ For details see Ashish Bose, *Urbanization in India: An Inventory of Source Materials* (Chapter 9), New Delhi, Academic Books, 1970.

¹⁶ N. V. Sovani *et al.* *Poona: A Resurvey: The Changing Pattern of Employment and Earnings*, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1946, p. v.

¹⁷ P. Pethe, *Demographic Profiles of an Urban Population*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1964, p. 129.

urban migration during the 1951-61 decade (making no allowance for mortality), but the estimated figure for rural-urban migration was only 5.2 million for this decade.¹⁶ In our view this inconsistency can be explained largely by the phenomenon of "turn-over" migration. In other words, many people move from one area to another without being able to settle down. This mobility need not necessarily be voluntary. It is possible that persons from rural areas are pushed to the urban areas and many of them in turn are pushed back from the urban areas to the rural areas or pushed out to other urban areas. "Push" is not always a neat operation involving uni-directional flow—it may be push to and fro. In short, the apparent inconsistency between the volume of lifetime and long-duration migration and the disproportionately large volume of yearly migration needs further investigation. But it does appear to us that the yearly migration figure is a clear indication of a large turn-over migration. We don't deny that, in several parts of India, the tempo of migration might have increased in recent years on account of development plans, extension of education, industrialization, improved transport and communication, etc. But it is our hypothesis that a large turn-over migration is a symptom of slow economic growth under conditions of rapid population growth. The lack of adequate employment opportunities both in rural and in urban areas generates involuntary mobility resulting in turn-over migration.

Urban Economy

There is hardly any study which distinguishes between the economies of scale, the economies of location, and the economies of agglomeration in India's cities and towns. In a study of the seven "million-plus" cities of India (Greater Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Bangalore), P. B. Desai observes:

Our million-plus cities too have acute economic problems. Their income does not appear to yield surpluses that can be spent on programmes of housing and social overheads. It would appear that out of the sources of agglomeration economies, they can boast of only one factor, namely, the size of population. These metropolitan centres are overpopulated and under-industrialized. They suffer also from acute shortages of economic overheads.

Desai rightly concludes: "It is time we realize that without developing or redeveloping the city economy as such, the planning to achieve social and cultural ends will prove to be fruitless."¹⁷ The question thus arises: How to integrate the economy of cities to the national economy and integrate spatial planning with fiscal planning? This also raises the wider issue of urban policy. Does India have such a thing as an urban policy? Is it true that whatever urban policy has emerged out of the Five Year Plans is dominated by housing needs

¹⁶ K. C. Zachariah: "Population Redistribution in India," in Ashish Bose (ed.): *Patterns of Population Change in India, 1951-61*. New Delhi, Allied Publishers, p. 103.

¹⁷ P. B. Desai: "Economy of Indian Cities," *The Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, July-September 1968, p. 453.

The rise of the *Shiv Sena* in Bombay with its gospel of hatred for the migrant, especially the South Indian migrant, and the occasional eruption of violence in the name of local, parochial patriotism is a phenomenon which cannot be treated as a minor aberration in urban politics. To a lesser degree, the simmering bitterness between the 'North Indian' and the 'South Indian' in the massive bureaucratic set up of New Delhi is a related phenomenon. The politics of Calcutta is perhaps much more deep-rooted in the Bengali-Marwari conflict one can see the blending of class-war with communal disharmony arising out of caste, language and culture. It is a conflict which has far reaching implications. There are, however, quieter cities like Kanpur, the industrial metropolis of U.P. At a seminar²⁴ on the city's industrial urban development one could not help noticing the feeling of helplessness on the part of the local people in respect of their ability to compete with the dynamic Punjabis and the shrewd Sindhis. There was an almost stoical acceptance of the superior entrepreneurial qualities of the Punjabi rather than an attitude of hostility towards him. The questions that arise are: Will the political climate of urban India in the future be guided by the mood of Calcutta and Bombay, or that of Delhi or Kanpur? Will it be the path of violence, non violent bitterness or pathetic silence? Will there be an increasing demand for keeping out the migrants and giving preference in matters of employment to "sons of the soil"—the local people?

One of the important aspects of the study of urbanization in India is to assess the impact of urbanization on social change, in particular, its impact on the caste system and the joint family system. At the Berkeley seminar, Richard D. Lambert referred to whatever evidence on joint family was available and concluded "it is not clear in which way the urban fringe-rural continuum runs on family types and size."²⁵ In a study of the Aggarwal community in Delhi, M. S. Gore says

The data regarding size, membership composition, and acceptance of familial obligations do not indicate any appreciable difference among the rural, fringe and urban nuclear families. The family of the urban immigrant group, however, shows certain special characteristics that set it off both from the urban-local families and families in the rural and fringe groups. The difference lies in the accentuation of its typically joint characteristics: large size, a membership composition which includes many 'other dependents,' and a conformity to norms of familial obligations which is somewhat greater than in almost any other group—but as far as the facts of family composition are concerned, the urban family is neither smaller nor more limited in membership composition or obligations than the rural and fringe families.²⁶

December 1965, pp. 604-5. See also N. K. Bose *Calcutta: A Social Survey* Bombay, Lalvani Publishing House, 1968.

²⁴ P. B. Desai (ed.) *Regional Perspective of Industrial and Urban Growth: the Case of Kanpur*, Papers and Proceedings of the Kanpur International Seminar, 1967 Bombay: Macmillan & Co., 1968.

²⁵ Richard D. Lambert "The Impact of Urban Society upon Village Life," in Roy Turner (ed.) *India's Urban Future*, op. cit., p. 127.

²⁶ M. S. Gore *Urbanization and Family Change* Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1968, p. 110.

exemption limit for income-tax liability.²¹ Too much trust cannot be placed in the income figures for obvious reasons (in fact, the income-tax exemption limit might have something to do with the pattern of income reporting) but this figure does give an idea of the extent of poverty in urban India. One would have liked to get a comparable picture for rural India as well but there are well-known hazards of computation of rural income. One would have liked to have more information on the subject of rural-urban disparity in income and wealth, the implications of a ceiling on urban property on the lines of a ceiling on rural land holdings, the implications of the emergence of a new-rich class in the rural areas whose incomes are tax-free because agricultural income is not taxed in India. But, alas, data and studies on these subjects are sadly lacking and it would be rash to draw any conclusion except to say that a new-rich class is emerging both in the rural and urban areas and that rural-urban disparities are getting narrowed for *this* rich class but perhaps this cannot be said of the rural-urban disparity for the population as a whole.

Urban Society

From demographic and economic questions we may now turn to some social and political questions which are closely related to economic issues. The literature on the social and political aspects of urbanization is scanty and yet these are issues which are becoming increasingly important in the urbanization process of India. We may cite the example of Calcutta. So much has been written and said on Calcutta, harping on the theme that Calcutta is a "hell-city," and yet there has been so little effort to study in a more technical manner the social and economic structure of Calcutta. Asok Mitra's study of Calcutta was one of the pioneering studies in this direction.²² A more recent study of Calcutta by N. K. Bose deserves attention. Basing his results on a social survey of Calcutta conducted by him when he was Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, Bose observes:

In Calcutta the economy is an economy of scarcity. When there are not enough jobs to go around, everyone tries to cling as close as possible to those with whom he is otherwise identified. New types of urban occupation have not thrown up new forms of trade organization; at least not to an adequate extent. So one relies for economic support more upon his co-religionists or even members of his own caste or inhabitants of the village or district from which he comes . . . it has to be borne in mind that even if Calcutta offers many new opportunities of employment, unless new civic or trade organizations cutting across ethnic groups are built up fast enough, communal tensions are likely to remain a feature of the city's life for a considerable time to come."²³

²¹ National Council of Applied Economic Research: *Urban Income and Saving*. New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1942, p. 110.

²² Asok Mitra: *Calcutta: India's City*. Calcutta, New Age Publishers, 1963.

²³ N. K. Bose: "A Social Survey of Calcutta," *Science and Culture* (Calcutta), Vol. 31,

National Sample Surveys The Ministry of Health has recently sponsored fertility surveys in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi and it is hoped that, in the near future, it will be possible to say something with confidence about fertility and family planning in at least these big cities. The results of these surveys are expected to have far reaching implications in assessing the impact of the family planning programme.

Urban Development with Social Justice,

We have earlier referred to the emergence of a new rich class in the big cities of India. This is an aspect which is assuming increasing importance in the economic, social and political life of the people. There are a few novels on the new rich, and some films make them their central theme but there are very few studies on this subject. The credit for focussing attention on this class in a big way (apart from the biased writings of professional politicians) goes to B. V. Krishnamurti who made a scathing commentary on planning in India in his article, 'Power Elite Planning for People's Welfare'. Much of what he says is of particular relevance to urban India. To quote Krishnamurti: "The power elite sets the standards for the style of living standards which include A type bungalows air-conditioned offices and bedrooms, refrigerators, limousines, air-conditioned railway and Caravelle air travel, select clubs and restaurants." ²¹ He quotes National Sample Survey data to show that 85.6 per cent of the urban population which belongs to the lowest income group spends 70 per cent of their earnings on food alone. When one comes to housing, the situation is no better. In our study of housing in Delhi, we have observed that a lower-middle-class person has to pay around 70 per cent of his monthly income as house rent for his minimum housing needs and if we add another 70 per cent (the food bill) one arrives at a figure of 140 per cent of income necessary for food and housing alone! So the choice is often between food and shelter and obviously, the former gets preference. This explains to a substantial extent the large scale emergence of unauthorized hutment colonies in urban Delhi in complete disregard of municipal standards. There are today over 300 such colonies which house over 500,000 people who live under a constant threat of demolition of their houses by municipal squads. ²² To make matters worse, the local politicians invariably make it a point to take up the cause of ejected persons and make it a big political issue. And it is not that principles are always involved. All the political parties play this game: the party in opposition becomes the champion of the slum-dweller and when this party gets into power it is all for implementation of demolition plans, and the erstwhile ruling party becomes in turn the self-styled saviour of the slum-dweller and opposes tooth and nail the demolition of unauthorized constructions.

While these sub-standard constructions (they can hardly be called houses)

²¹ B. V. Krishnamurti "Power Elite Planning for People's Welfare," *Economic and Political Weekly* Bombay, 27 May 1967.

²² Ashish Bose "Housing the Rich in Delhi," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3 June 1967.

In a more detailed analysis of rural-urban differences in social characteristics on the basis of data collected in West Bengal, Ramakrishna Mukherjee observes: "The inference is thus forced on us that the nuclear family organization as one of the manifestations of the urban way of life is nowhere in the picture." He has, however, a word of caution. He concedes that it is possible to argue that the "impact of urban life on the familial organization or integration of the people would be revealed in course of time although not visible as yet." Mukherjee then proceeds to study the impact of urbanization on caste. He concludes: "It appears, therefore, that the caste organization remains qualitatively the same in cities, towns and villages; with variations in degrees to suit the exigency of the nature of settlement but not to do away with the caste structure of society either in the urban or in the rural area."²⁷

Apart from the impact of urbanization on caste and joint-family, we could also consider its impact, if any, on a few demographic characteristics like age at marriage, fertility performance and attitude towards and practice of family planning. According to S. P. Jain, who was the census actuary in 1961, the median age at marriage of females in rural India was 16.1 years compared to 17.1 years in urban India for the 1951-60 decade.²⁸ Thus the rural-urban difference is marginal. The same is true, by and large, of rural-urban differentials in fertility. The data on the subject are neither comprehensive nor very satisfactory. Sovani came to the following conclusion after examining the available material: "Taking the evidence as a whole it may be said that differences do exist between rural and urban fertilities but they are not very marked."²⁹ Recent surveys have shown that in some urban areas as well as in some rural pockets there has been a significant decline in fertility as a result of the implementation of family planning programmes.³⁰ But it cannot be said that urban fertility in India as a whole has declined. In fact, National Sample Survey data show that urban fertility is high. For example, according to one NSS study, the number of children born alive to urban women 47 years and above was 6.5.³¹ But, obviously, this figure does not reflect the current fertility behaviour. Unfortunately, the data on the birth rate of different cities in India suffer from grave deficiencies and no firm conclusion can be drawn on the current fertility pattern. It is also not possible to give any firm data on family planning in urban India except to quote the results of a number of demographic surveys which are by no means representative of urban India as a whole. There are several methodological and operational problems involved in collecting data on family planning through the census enumeration or, for that matter, through

²⁷ Ramakrishna Mukherjee: *On Rural-Urban Differences and Relationships in Social Characteristics*. Paper for Unesco Seminar, Delhi, 1962 (mimeo). See also Ramakrishna Mukherjee, *Sociologist and Social Change in India Today*. New Delhi, Prentice-Hall, 1965.

²⁸ S. P. Jain "State Growth Rates and their Components," in Ashish Bose (ed.): *Patterns of Population Change in India, 1951-61*, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁹ N. V. Sovani: *Urbanization and Urban India*, op. cit., p. 65.

³⁰ India, Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development: *India: Family Planning Programme Since 1965*. New Delhi, 1968.

³¹ Rajeshwar Prasad: "NSS Data on Urban Fertility," in Ashish Bose (ed.): *Patterns of Population Change in India, 1951-61*, op. cit., p. 35.

In the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan, of a total of Rs 40 crores (400 million) provided for the development of the Calcutta Metropolitan Region, the allocation for *basti* (slum) improvement was only Rs 1 crore (10 million)²⁶ When there was criticism of this grossly inadequate allocation of funds for slum clearance, all that the Planning Commission did was to drop the reference to this Rs 1 crore in the final version of the Fourth Plan which said "The provision of Rs 40 crores is proposed to be utilised for schemes relating to water supply, sewerage and drainage, roads and traffic, slum clearance, housing and urban development."²⁷ Political commonsense manifested itself just before the mid term elections of 1971 and the allocation for Calcutta was suddenly stepped up to Rs 150 crores (one and a half billion) But can conflict be put down and urban development with social justice ensured with such *ad hocism*?

The Fourth Plan does recognize that, "The situation in regard to growth of population in metropolitan centres, particularly of Calcutta and Bombay, is already so difficult as to make it almost a law and order problem"²⁸ But is the growth of population the only factor responsible for the tragedy of our cities? What about municipal corruption, political nepotism, and the obsolete bureaucratic set up? Why is the housing situation so bad in Delhi where the density is low in many areas and the Master Plan, in fact, recommended increasing the density? Is it not too naïve to blame the growth of population for all our ills? Elsewhere, we have commented more fully on the thinking of the Planning Commission on the subject of urban development Its record in this field is far from impressive²⁹

Urban Administration

It is not unlikely that in the years to come there will be an increasing antagonism against the Central Government and that the cult of hatred for the "Centre" (the Central Government at New Delhi) will grow and every denial of funds for Calcutta will be attributed to the expensive beautification plans of New Delhi Unfortunately, it is a fact that there is a growing tendency in the capital of India to become insensitive to problems of the rest of the country Asok Mitra, a senior I.C.S. officer and a key member of the highest bureaucracy in New Delhi, in a monograph on Delhi (written in his personal capacity) makes the following observation "New Delhi is a lovely city and its beauty steadily grows on those who live in it. But it is after all an anachronism in present day urban India, and like all anachronisms it continues to inflict social and moral damage Anyone who lives in this city for any length of time is bound to lose touch with the reality that is India, unless he makes conscious and strenuous

²⁶ India, Planning Commission *Fourth Five Year Plan, A Draft Outline* New Delhi, 1966, p 318

²⁷ India, Planning Commission *Fourth Five Year Plan* (1969-74). New Delhi, 1969 p 400.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p 398.

²⁹ Ashish Bose "Urban Development with Social Justice," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. V, Nos 29-31, Special Number, July 1970

get built and demolished on a scale determined by the hide-and-seek game of the local politicians, the rich and the new-rich devote themselves quietly to the business of amassing wealth through land speculation, luxury housing, black-market operations and tax evasion.³⁴ Perhaps nowhere as in the city of New Delhi does one see this intense polarization in housing standards. The middle-class is fast vanishing from this city. There are the upper-class colonies, the exclusive urban preserves of high Government officials, diplomats, foreign experts, and the senior executives of foreign and Indian commercial houses (fortunately, the tribe of film stars has yet to emerge on the Delhi scene); hardly any new middle-class colonies; and, of course, numerous sprawling, proliferating, unauthorized colonies. The talk of optimum standards of housing, and all the sophisticated studies on housing, become exercises in irrelevance when one considers the politics of housing. The question that one may pose here is: Apart from the clichés on low-cost housing, are there any concrete proposals to solve the explosive housing situation in urban India? What are the economies of urban sprawl compared to those of vertical housing? Can India learn anything from Singapore and Hong Kong in regard to housing programmes?

There is a tendency on the part of the Planning Commission to concentrate on the *preparation* of city development plans rather than on finding the money to implement them. Lest this is considered too harsh a judgment we shall quote from the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan which says: "It is visualised that in the Fourth Plan period as many towns and cities as possible and, at any rate, those with a population of 100,000 or more should come into the scheme of planning in an organic way, each city mobilising its own resources and helping to create conditions for a better life for its citizens."³⁵ By this logic Calcutta has to find *its own resources* for the development plan though Calcutta along with Bombay shares the bulk of industrial and commercial activity in India. When the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization was set up in 1961 and a comprehensive master plan was being prepared by this organization with the assistance of foreign experts, we had occasion to discuss Calcutta's problem with leading politicians of the then ruling party in West Bengal. Their hostility to the preparation of the master plan was surprising. According to one of these leaders, any comprehensive plan for Calcutta would call for an allocation of ten billion rupees against the actual allocation of 100 million rupees by the Planning Commission. In the absence of financial backing from the Central Government, the preparation of a master plan would only arouse expectations which could never be fulfilled and thus invite frustration on such a scale that any government undertaking such an exercise would be committing political suicide. In the light of subsequent events it does appear that there was much sense in what this leader had to say. In spite of years of planning, in the absence of adequate finances, nothing substantial has been achieved.

³⁴ Ashish Bose: *Land Speculation in Urban Delhi*. New Delhi, National Buildings Organisation, Ministry of Housing, Government of India, 1969 (mimeo).

³⁵ India, Planning Commission: *Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan*. New Delhi, 1964, p. 83.

It may be noted in this connection that, under the Constitution of India, every five years a *Finance Commission* looks into the question of allocation of financial resources arising out of the federal taxes between the Central Government and the different States and also fixes the relative share of each State. The allocation of resources to municipal bodies is, however, outside the scope of the Finance Commission. Datta, therefore, recommends the appointment of a *Municipal Finance Commission* in each State every five years. Whether or not such Commissions are appointed, the real issue is will the Central Government agree to take upon itself the increasing burden of urban development? There is no indication that it will in the five year plans.

As Mohit Bhattacharya points out⁴⁴

Our five year plans have so far consistently kept comprehensive municipal development out of their scope. The approach has been toward functional stimulation rather than co-ordinated urban areas development. It is high time that the latter approach is adopted and municipal development schemes are integrated into the five year plans via the State plan schemes.⁴⁵

Urban problems and urban development are admittedly important national issues in India but ultimately much of the burden of solving these problems lies on local administration—municipalities and corporations, and most of the money has to come from local or municipal finance. Paradoxically enough, municipal administration and municipal finance have rarely been considered major issues and municipal politics attracts hardly any attention from scholars in India and abroad. One can understand the glamour attached to any study of India's Parliament or Prime Ministers. The prospects of international fame for authors discussing the future of democracy in India are indeed great but *one fails to understand the lack of foresight displayed in ignoring local politics* which might well dominate the national scene in the future. At the local level, political pressurization, municipal corruption and administrative inefficiency perhaps play a much more important role than at the State level or the Central level. The Planning Commission does admit this in the Third Five Year Plan.

At the local level, municipal administrations alone can undertake satisfactorily the task of providing the services needed for development in urban areas, expansion of housing and improvement in living conditions. Most municipal administrations are not strong enough to carry out these functions.⁴⁶

There are no indications, however, that bold steps are being contemplated to tackle the problems of urban development either at the municipal level or at the national level. In a recent review⁴⁷ of the researches on administration

⁴⁴ Mohit Bhattacharya, *Essays in Urban Government* (Calcutta, The World Press, 1973), p. 120.

⁴⁵ India, Planning Commission, *Third Five Year Plan* (New Delhi, 1961), p. 693.

⁴⁶ Ashish Bose, *Survey of Research in Social Sciences: Administration of Urban Areas* (New Delhi, Indian Council of Social Science Research, 1970 (unpublished)).

efforts not to lose it."⁴⁰ Mitra quotes with approval Ashok Rudra, a professor of Economics, who spent a brief spell in Delhi. Rudra comments rather devastatingly:

The individual members of the Establishment have a certain personal philosophy—*La Dolce Vita*. The Sweet Life, the gentle life. The Establishment people in Delhi are true epicureans. Mind you, a true epicurean does not indulge in excesses . . . There are, therefore, no orgies in Delhi's social life. No adventures, no risk taking. Only the more quiet pleasures of life, based upon *pucca* foundations of security. Quarters large as villas, with generous lawns and extensive gardens; children to go to public schools or convents; cars to be purchased with government loans (if not a foreign make procured while abroad) and to be at the disposal of the *memsahib* while the *sahib* runs around in staff cars; a few trips abroad per year on official duty or to attend conferences; giving or going out to parties four or five evenings a week. These are some of the modest ingredients of the non-passionate *Dolce Vita*.⁴¹

The complaints of the common man in Calcutta cannot be treated as totally irresponsible. We may quote here a comment from the World Bank Mission's report on India's Third Five Year Plan prepared by Michael Hoffman. "One of the most dangerous weaknesses of the Plan," says this report, "is the continued neglect of the problems of urban development in Calcutta . . . The very magnitude and challenge that Calcutta presents to the conscience and political common sense of those in authority no doubt in part explains the inadequacy of the response."⁴² The growing violence and conflict in Calcutta during the last decade indicate the price of this neglect.

A related issue is municipal finance. A committee appointed by the Government of India on "Augmentation of Financial Resources of Urban Local Bodies" submitted a voluminous report⁴³ highlighting the gap in financial terms between the existing and desired level of municipal services. Basing his study on the data collected by this Committee, Abhijit Datta concludes:

A major advance in local finance is possible through the inter-governmental co-operation and revenue devolution in a systematic manner. The integration of the urban local bodies with the State and National planning process will substantially shift the responsibility of financing urban development to the upper-tier governments. However the main initiative in this direction must lie in the State governments, although the passive role of the Central government vis-à-vis urban development also needs to be changed.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Asok Mitra: *Delhi: Capital City*. New Delhi, Thompson Press, 1970, p. 48.

⁴¹ Quoted by Asok Mitra in *Delhi: Capital City*, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

⁴² Ashish Bose: "Urban Planning and Policy in India," *AICC Economic Review*, New Delhi, 22 September 1961, p. 4.

⁴³ India, Ministry of Health: *Report of the Committee on Augmentation of Financial Resources of Urban Local Bodies*. Delhi, 1965.

⁴⁴ Abhijit Datta: "Financing Municipal Services," *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, July-September 1968, p. 567. See also Abhijit Datta: *Urban Government, Finance and Development*, Calcutta, The World Press, 1970.

Trend of Urbanization

Table 1 gives a summary picture of the population growth rates in rural and urban areas for the last seven decades*

TABLE 1 —PERCENTAGE (DECADE) VARIATION IN POPULATION OF INDIA, 1901-71

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1901-11	5.8	6.4	0.4
1911-21	-0.3	-1.3	8.3
1921-31	11.0	10.0	19.1
1931-41	14.2	11.8	32.0
1941-51	13.3	8.8	41.4
1951-61	21.5	19.0*	34.0*
1961-71	24.7	21.8	37.8

*Adjusted by us for change of definition of "urban area" in 1961. The unadjusted figures are 20.6 for rural population and 26.4 for urban population.

It will be seen from this table that, except for the 1911-21 decade which was affected by the influenza epidemic, the growth rate of the total population has been accelerating and currently it is 2.5 per cent per year. This is also broadly true of the rural and urban populations except that in the 1941-51 decade the growth rate for the rural population was quite low while it was very high for the urban population in that decade. This decade, it may be noted, was affected by the Partition of India in 1947 and a heavy influx of refugees from Pakistan into India, and especially to the big cities. If we exclude the net impact of refugee migration to and from Pakistan, our estimate of the growth rate of the urban population for the 1941-51 decade is 35.4 per cent and not 41.4 per cent. Thus during the last three decades, the growth rate of the urban population has been between 3.4 and 3.8 per cent per year. Urbanization has indeed been very rapid.

The Role of Big Cities

However, a detailed look at the data indicates that much of the growth of the urban population has taken place in the big cities (population 100,000 +) and most of the small and medium-sized towns have stagnated.

Of the total increase of 29.9 million in the urban population of India during 1961-71, the big cities accounted for 18.8 million or 63.0 per cent of the total

of urban areas, we have observed that research on municipal administration is a neglected field in spite of the fact that several municipalities have been functioning in India for over a hundred years.

It is our contention that urban problems cannot be solved unless the prevailing constitutional-legal-administrative apparatus is drastically modified to meet the demands of urbanization. This apparatus is a legacy of the early 19th century, based on British laws and political philosophy which have limited relevance today. This obsolescence has put a brake on urban development. Cities today have to plan 30 years ahead, for the 21st century, while the institutions which are supposed to implement these plans are a hangover of the early 19th century. The Five Year Plans have helplessly admitted the severe limitations of municipal administration while doing very little about introducing radical changes in such administration. We have briefly touched upon the demographic, economic, social, political and administrative aspects of the process of urbanization in India with particular reference to the period from 1951 onwards which coincides with the first census of independent India and the formulation of India's First Five Year Plan. As we close this chapter the first results of the 1971 census are just being made available and we shall very briefly comment on urbanization during the 1961-71 decade as revealed by these figures.

The 1971 Census

According to the first set of provisional tables for the 1971 census of India,⁴⁰ released with remarkable speed, the total population of India is 547.4 million while the urban population is 108.8 million or 19.9 per cent of the total population. It is important to distinguish between the level of urbanization as measured by the proportion of the urban population and the scale of urbanization as measured by absolute numbers. One underestimates the problems of urbanization by harping on the fact that only one-fifth of India's population is urban. The fact that India has an urban population of 109 million is much more important than the fact that only one-fifth of India's population is urban. Urban India alone can rank among the biggest countries of the world.

According to the 1971 census, there are 2921 towns and cities in India. Of these, 142 cities have a population of over 100,000 persons. The combined population of these cities is 57.02 million or 52.4 per cent of the total urban population and 10.4 per cent of the total population of India. Here again the fact that India has 142 "big cities" is much more important than the fact that these cities account for only 10 per cent of India's population. How many countries in the world have 142 big cities? These cities include 8 cities which have a population of over one million. Greater Calcutta with a population of 7 million is one of the biggest cities in the world and if the municipal boundaries are more realistically drawn it is as big as New York and Tokyo.

⁴⁰ Census of India 1971. Paper 1 of 1971, *Provisional Population Totals*, New Delhi, April 1971; Paper 1 of 1971—supplement: *Provisional Population Totals*, August 1971.

TABLE 2.—GROWTH OF POPULATION IN SELECTED CLASS I CITIES

			Population in 1971 (thousands)	Decade Growth Rate (1961-71)
<i>Urban Agglomerations</i>				
Bombay			7,005	22
including New Delhi)			5,969	44
.. ..			3,630	54
.. ..			2,470	43
.. ..			1,799	44
.. ..			1,648	43
.. ..			1,588	38
.. ..			1,273	31
<i>Other Class I Cities</i>				
.. ..			465	42
.. ..			245	84
.. ..			207	397
.. ..			173	91
.. ..			103	new
.. ..			101	54
<i>Industrial Cities</i>				
.. ..			472	64
.. ..			467	57
.. ..			401	64
.. ..			256	83
.. ..			213	77
.. ..			128	82
<i>Other Class II Cities</i>				
.. ..			438	56
.. ..			334	73
.. ..			362	72
<i>Other Class III Cities</i>				
.. ..			392	76
.. ..			233	135
.. ..			106	176

ty, indifference to urban environment, will all become routine features of urbanization. The general elections in the States (March 1972) have brought a new dynamism to Indian politics. This is particularly encouraging in the troubled State of West Bengal. But this implies that problems of urban unemployment, slums, and pollution must be tackled effectively and quickly. Urban politicians, and particularly ministers, have a guilt complex when they talk of urban development. For example, when problems of urban housing are discussed, the point is invariably made that rural housing is even more important. Perhaps what is meant is that rural votes are more important. This kind of constraint comes in the way of formulating clear cut policies on urban

urban growth. Urbanization has been essentially a process of migration the big cities (100,000 +) while there has been stagnation of small towns.

But, interestingly enough, the growth rate of Calcutta has been far from rapid. It was 8.5 per cent for the 1951-61 decade and 7.3 per cent for the 1961-71 decade. The growth rate even for the Calcutta urban agglomeration was only 22.1 per cent during the 1961-71 decade. Commenting on the low growth rate of Calcutta, the Director of Census (1971) for West Bengal observes that there was some movement away from the Central city but there were also several deterrents to the growth of Calcutta like the inability of services and facilities such as sanitation and transport to take the strain of higher growth levels, and factors such as industrial unrest, economic difficulties, etc.

Calcutta reached the saturation point long back and no wonder the growth of population even in the Calcutta urban agglomeration is far from spectacular. In this problem city of India, political and economic factors are far more important than the demographic factors though one may argue that, to a considerable extent, the political and economic problems arise out of the demographic problems. But this point cannot be stretched too far.

Healthy Features of Urbanization

A healthy feature of urbanization during the last decade is the growth of steel cities, other industrial centres, ports, and new capital cities. The impact of the five year plans, and in particular, programmes of industrial development, is evident from the pattern of urban growth (Table 2).

There are, however, a number of class I cities where the growth rates are very low, for example, Mirzapur-cum-Vindhyachal (6%), Kharagpur (10%), Machilipatnam (11%), Mathura (12%), Alleppy (15%), Eluru (17%), Muzaffarpur (17%), Farukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh (18%), Gaya (19%), Kanchipuram (19%), and Rampur (19%). It may be noted that Calcutta municipal area recorded a growth rate of only 7 per cent and Howrah only 17 per cent during the last decade.

✦ Lack of an Urban Lobby

The lack of an urban lobby in the Indian Parliament and in the State legislatures is responsible for the continued neglect of problems of urban development. However, some politicians have realized that any further neglect of cities like Calcutta can be suicidal for national politics. The sudden interest in Calcutta before the mid-term poll and the decision to raise the Fourth Five Year Plan allocation for Calcutta from Rs. 40 crores to Rs. 150 crores are indeed welcome developments but perhaps it is too late in the day to talk of development of Calcutta. We have somehow to salvage Calcutta.

It is becoming increasingly clear that unless effective steps are taken many other cities in India may follow the path of Calcutta. Political violence, antagonism between the "sons of the soil" and the "outsiders", student unrest, extreme housing shortage, breakdown of public transport, water supply and

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Delhi (including New Delhi)	3,630	54
Madras	2,470	43
Hyderabad	1,799	44
Bangalore	1,648	43
Ahmedabad	..	..	1,588	38
Kanpur	..	..	1,273	31
<i>Steel cities</i>				
Jamshedpur	..	..	465	42
Durg-Bhilainagar	..	..	245	84
Durgapur	..	..	207	397
Rourkela	..	..	173	91
Bokaro steel city	..	..	103	new
Phadravati	..	..	101	54
<i>Other industrial cities</i>				
Surat	..	..	472	64
Baroda	..	..	467	57
Ludhiana	..	..	401	64
Ranchi	..	..	256	83
Kota	..	..	213	77
Ghaziabad	..	..	128	82
<i>Port cities</i>				
Cochin	..	..	438	56
Calicut	..	..	334	73
Vishakhapatnam	362	72
<i>Capital cities</i>				
Bhopal	392	75
Chandigarh	233	135
Bhubaneswar	106	176

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development. To make matters worse, "Urban Development" is often clubbed with Works, Housing, Supply, Health, Family Planning, etc. and urban policy is relegated to ministerial pronouncements made during inaugural speeches at seminars and conferences. Then there is the needless annual ritual of housing ministers' conference, mayors' conference, etc.

From time to time, urban problems are sought to be tackled by appointing Commissions, Committees, Sub-committees, Panels, Working Groups, etc. This is essentially a nineteenth century British style of "solving" problems. In an era of confrontations, and this is especially true of the urban situation, commissions are rarely effective. And American style "seminaring" has reached a point of negative return. Most of these seminars generate a good appetite for food but very few new ideas.

The lack of expertise on urbanization is another obstacle to urban development. There is hardly any university in India which gives a course in Urban Economics or Urban Demography. There are hardly any studies on the economics of urban housing, rent control, land speculation, etc. The related subjects of urban water supply, electricity, transport, etc. have yet to appeal to the imagination of our economists. The result is that town planners have a virtual monopoly in this field but, surely, urban development is much more than zoning and town planning.

Urban Poverty

The spectacular victory of the Congress Party under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, both at the mid-term Parliamentary poll in March 1971 and the State elections in March 1972, and the emergence of Bangla Desh have brought political stability in India and the new Republic of Bangla Desh. It may be recalled that the main slogan of the Congress Party at the elections was "Garibi Hatao" (Banish Poverty). This is the overriding theme before the country today.

The last few years have witnessed a growing concern for reducing the inequality in wealth and income between the rich and the poor and the facile assumption that there must be economic growth first before the problem of inequality can be tackled has been challenged. The report of Mahalanobis Committee on Distribution of Income⁴⁹ brought out conclusions which no politician could ignore. A seminar on the "Challenge of Poverty in India" organized by the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, under the direction of Father A. J. Fonseca revealed the dimensions of poverty in India. One of the participants to the seminar, Lady Ursula Hicks, came to the dismal conclusion that "while India can deal quite successfully with destitution, it cannot abolish poverty."⁵⁰ Another participant, Professor B. S. Minhas, in his forthright paper on "The Poor, the Weak and the Fourth Plan" concluded:

⁴⁹ *Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living*, Government of India, Planning Commission, July 1969

⁵⁰ Ursula Hicks: "Strategy for Development," in A. J. Fonseca (ed.): *Challenge of Poverty in India*. Delhi, Vikas Publications, 1971, p. 175.

The political stability of the republic is in peril and the need of the hour is to speed up the rate of growth of the economy and also to modify the income generation process in favour of the poor through imaginative programmes and policies, so that they can benefit and develop a stake in the continuance of our democratic system. It is only with a clarity of purpose, imagination, above all, political courage that the difficulties inherent in our situation can be overcome. The Planning Commission have all but missed their opportunity in the Fourth Plan Draft to grasp the compulsions of Indian poverty and to focus the nation's attention on the courses open to us.⁵¹

A couple of years later Professor Minhas was drafted as a member of the Planning Commission and was entrusted, along with other members, with the task of revising the Fourth Plan.

In his paper we have referred to, Minhas observed that "investments in housing and urban development have mostly benefited the rich."⁵² It is hoped that the reconstituted Planning Commission will show a greater concern for the urban poor.

An outstanding study on poverty in India was conducted by Professor V. M. Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath of the Indian School of Political Economy, Poona. One of the startling conclusions of Dandekar and Rath on the basis of their analysis of National Sample Survey data for the period 1960-61 to 1968-69 is that urban poverty has increased. They observe:

During the past decade, the per capita private consumer expenditure increased by less than half a per cent per annum. Moreover, the small gains have not been equitably distributed among all sections of the population. The condition of the bottom 20 per cent rural poor has remained more or less stagnant. The condition of the bottom 20 per cent urban poor has definitely deteriorated and for another 20 per cent of the urban population, it has remained more or less stagnant. Thus, while the character of rural poverty has remained the same as before, the character of urban poverty has deepened further. This is the consequence of the continuous migration of the rural poor into the urban areas in search of a livelihood, their failure to find adequate means to support themselves there and the resulting growth of roadside and slum life in the cities. All the latent dissatisfaction about the slow progress of the economy and the silent frustration about its failure to give the poor a fair deal, let alone special attention, appear to be gathering in this form. Its shape today is probably no more than hideous, allowed to grow unheeded and unrelieved, it will inevitably turn ugly.⁵³

Like Minhas, Dandekar and Rath also find fault with the Planning Commission. To quote them at length:

⁵¹ B. S. Minhas, "The Poor, the Weak and the Fourth Plan," in A. J. Fonseca, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁵² Ibid., p. 67.

⁵³ V. M. Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath, *Poverty in India*, issued by the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, December 1970, p. 44. Also published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 2 and January 9, 1971.

The Planning Commission's perspective for the coming decade is clearly out of line with the experience of the past decade. There is an obvious desire to close the eyes on the past failures and wishfully hope that the future will somehow be different. From the point of view of this study, even more important is the Planning Commission's failure to take cognizance of the fact of growing inequality and the movement of the rural poor into the cities. Instead of recognizing these facts, the Planning Commission has proceeded on the smug assumption that the pattern of inequality will remain the same as in the past and that therefore a high rate of growth is all that is needed to abolish poverty.⁵¹

According to Dandekar and Rath, there is not much point in distinguishing the urban poor from the rural poor. They say: "The urban poor are only an overflow of the rural poor into the urban area. Fundamentally, they belong to the same class as the rural poor."⁵²

Thus we come back to the main issue, the central theme and the overriding concern for politicians, planners and policy-makers, namely, poverty in India.

One may pose a question in this context: What is the role of cities in reducing poverty in India? Are our cities "generative" or "parasitic"? Dr. A. N. Bose, an industrial economist of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, observes:

The Calcutta Metropolis along with Durgapur-Asansol area has been able to pump in a disproportionately large share of national savings and surplus, but almost no part of this investment was oriented towards developing our agriculture or our rural areas, and this industry, despite huge investment, is now in a crisis.⁵³

According to him the basic problem of the Indian metropolis is its continuing semi-colonial character. To quote him at length:

... unless the economic structure of the present day society is basically changed making possible full utilisation of already existing resources, leading to a much higher income for all and a growth rate substantially higher than population growth rate, it may be meaningless to introduce merely some water supply, drainage or transportation services... the plans centering round mere infra-structure development is not only meaningless but is also harmful from the point of view of the present day Indian society as a whole.⁵⁴

Thus the issues involved in urban development are complicated. It is not just a matter of investment in urban infra-structure or regulating the flow of migration to cities. The whole subject has to be understood in the wider context of economic growth and social and political change.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵² Ibid., p. 25.

⁵³ A. N. Bose: "Continuing Semi-Colonial Character—The Basic Problem of the Indian Metropolis," *Indian Journal of Regional Science* (IIT, Kharagpur), Vol. III, No. 1, 1971, p. 41.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

PART TWO

Concepts and Definitions

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING "URBAN" IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

NO STATISTICAL study of urbanization is possible unless adequate note is taken of the definition of an "urban area" or city or town, which varies from country to country and from one census year to another. In Greenland, for example, a place with 300 or more inhabitants is called an urban area while in the Republic of Korea, an urban area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants, which shows how shaky international comparisons of the level of urbanization based on national definitions can be in the absence of definitional adjustments. Even in the same country, there are frequent modifications of the definition of "urban" which call for numerous adjustments to attain comparability over time. Thus, for example, was the case in the U.S.A. where a new definition of "urban" was adopted in 1950.

Difficulties of Defining a Town

Turning to India, we find that the census definition of 'town' remained more or less the same for the period 1901-51 and that it was only in 1961 that several modifications were introduced to make the definition more satisfying from the statistical point of view. But an interesting feature of the Indian census has been the latitude given to Census Superintendents in regard to the classification of places on the borderline of 'rural' and 'urban'. We shall discuss this aspect first and then refer briefly to the impact on urbanization of the new definition of "town" adopted in 1961.

The urban population of a country comprises the total population of its towns. Though the definition of 'town' in Indian censuses remained the same all through the decades 1901-51, owing to an inherent weakness in the definition, uniformity was not always maintained in its application. This has to some extent, vitiated comparability.

To quote from the general report of the Census of India, 1901

Town includes

- (1) Every municipality of whatever size,
- (2) All civil lines not included within municipal limits,
- (3) Every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited

by not less than 5,000 persons, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes.¹

Thus, the primary consideration for deciding whether a particular place is a town or not is the administrative set-up, not the size of its population. Not all municipalities, civil lines areas and cantonments have a population of over 5,000 and yet these were classified as towns. At the same time, all places with a population of 5,000 and over are not necessarily towns. There are over-grown villages with populations of over 5,000 and the Census Superintendents had the discretion to treat them as such. The Census Superintendents also had the discretion to treat as a "town" any place, irrespective of its administrative set-up or population size, for "special reasons". This is not quite evident from the definition of "town" just quoted, for clause (3) of the definition refers to places inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons. But it has been the census practice right from 1901 onwards to allow the discretionary power to Census Superintendents even with reference to places with populations below 5,000.

The definition of "town" was thus not totally objective inasmuch as it was not based on a rigid statistical test. The census authorities were aware of these limitations but they preferred administrative expediency to statistical precision.

Writing about the problem of definition of "town", the 1901 Census Commissioner pointed out:

Many of the places which have thus been treated as towns are in reality nothing more than over-grown villages, but it would have been impossible to frame any definition, with the object of excluding such places, without destroying all prospect of uniformity in its application in different parts of India, and even in different parts of the same province. Most, if not all, Indian Municipal Enactments contain a provision that a certain proportion of the inhabitants of any area which it may be proposed to bring under their operation must earn a livelihood by non-agricultural occupations, and it was clearly better to take the circumstances that this condition has been found to exist as the main test of what constitutes a town, rather than to attempt to introduce a new standard that could not be applied correctly without far more elaborate enquiries than it would have been possible to carry out. . . . It must, therefore, be borne in mind that the classification [between town and village] is only a rough one, and that in all cases, the true urban population is considerably below that indicated by the proportions calculated on the results of the Census.²

The 1911 Census Commissioner referred in his report to the criticism of a distinguished German statistician who thought that the adoption of a double criterion—the possession of municipal government and of a population of over 5,000—introduced an element of uncertainty in the definition of town. He points out that "in framing the definition, the object in view was, as far

¹ *Census of India 1901*, Vol. I, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

as possible, to treat as town, only places which are of a more or less urban character" It could be assumed that all places under municipal government possessed some urban characteristics but the converse proposition was not always true and "it sometimes happens that places of a distinctly urban nature have not been raised to a municipal rank" So a definition based on the administrative set up alone would have resulted in the exclusion of several places with urban characteristics At the same time, the adoption of a definition based on the 5 000-population test would have resulted in the inclusion of overgrown villages in the list of towns So discretion had to be allowed to Census Superintendents, which, the Census Commissioner admits, "occasionally led to a certain want of uniformity" ³

The 1921 Census Commissioner enumerated in his report the factors which the Census Superintendents were asked to keep in mind in the exercise of their discretionary powers

The Provincial Superintendent will have regard to the character of the population, the relative density of the dwellings, the importance of the place as a centre of trade and its historic associations, and will bear in mind that it is undesirable to treat as towns over grown villages which have no urban characteristics ⁴

The 1931 Census Commissioner admitted that "the varying degrees of urbanization of different provinces cannot necessarily be taken at their face value" and pointed out how difficult it was at times to distinguish between a small town and a village

It will be well to bear in mind that the distinction between a small town and a large village as far as the conditions of life or occupation of its inhabitants is concerned is often meaningless, and the treatment of any place as urban rather than rural does not necessarily imply any degree of industrialization and only the minimum degree of a corporate life distinct from that of the ordinary village To quote the Census Superintendent for Bengal "Many of the non industrial towns differ but little in their conditions from large villages, except in the provision of an infrequent lamp-post" ⁵

The 1941 Census Commissioner was a frank critic of the definition of town He pointed out that the 5,000 minimum was observed fairly strictly in most of the provinces, notably in Madras, but less so in others and "some States appear to have the idea that the number of alleged towns is a mark of their advancement" He referred rather sarcastically to the proposal of one State Superintendent that four villages with populations of over 2,000 each be recognized as towns in view of their commercial and administrative positions and urban aspects He went on to say "This sort of thing will always appear

³ *Census of India 1911*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 63

⁴ *Census of India 1921*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30

⁵ *Census of India 1931*, Vol. I, pp. 45-46.

but in my opinion the census volumes should decline to recognize anything below 5,000...."⁶

The definition of town adopted in the 1951 census was similar to that of the 1901 census but was worded more cautiously.

A town is normally an inhabited locality with a total population of not less than 5,000 persons. But places with a somewhat larger population which do not possess definite urban character may not be treated as towns. At the same time, places with a smaller population with definite urban character (including generally all municipalities and cantonments and other places having a local administration of their own) may be treated as separate towns. The decision, in marginal cases, rests with State Governments in some States and Census Superintendents in others.⁷

Reference may be made here to the standards adopted by a few Census Superintendents for determining the urban population in the 1951 census.⁸

In West Bengal, a place was called a town if it satisfied the following requirements: (1) a population of not less than 1,000 inhabitants to the square mile, (2) importance of the place as a centre for trade or distribution or administration, (3) the employment of at least 75 per cent of the adult males in non-agricultural pursuits.⁹

The conditions were not so rigid in Madras. In this state, in 1951, there were 75 towns where the agricultural population was more than the non-agricultural population. But in Assam there was not a single town where the agricultural population exceeded the non-agricultural.¹⁰

The differences in the administrative set-up of towns and villages in different states of India with regard to the prevalence of municipalities, cantonments, etc., and the result of the use of the discretionary power by various State Census Superintendents are brought out in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 2 shows that while in Travancore-Cochin 32.4 per cent of the rural population is found in villages with over 5,000 population, in Orissa the comparable percentage is 0.1 only.

It must be emphasized here that these great disparities are not always on account of arbitrary decisions on the part of Census Superintendents. Every municipality had to be classed as a census town even if its population was less than 5,000. For example, in 1951, the railway colony in Kanpur with a population of 677 was outside the municipal limits of Kanpur. The colony could not be called a village just because its population was below 5,000. On the other hand, there were a large number of places with population of over 5,000 which, by no stretch of imagination, could be called towns. They were merely overgrown villages.

⁶ *Census of India 1941*, Vol. I, p. 26.

⁷ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. I, Part I-A, p. 44.

⁸ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. I, Part II-A, p. 2.

⁹ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. VI, Part I-A, p. 159.

¹⁰ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. XII, Part I-A, p. 141.

TABLE 1—PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION IN TOWNS WITH POPULATION BELOW 5 000 TO THE TOTAL URBAN POPULATION OF DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 1951

<i>States</i>	<i>Number of towns with population under 5 000</i>	<i>Total population of such towns</i>	<i>Average population of such towns</i>	<i>Col (3) as per cent of total urban population</i>
1	2	3	4	5
INDIA*	611	2,030 159	3 323	3.3
Manipur	1	2,862	2,862	100.0
Sikkim	1	2,744	2,744	100.0
Vindhya Pradesh	48	123 786	2,579	40.5
Himachal Pradesh & Bhar	7	14 691	2,099	32.5
Kutch	4	16 121	4 030	14.2
Pepsu	29	82,243	2,836	12.4
Rajasthan	65	219 785	3 381	8.3
Assam	9	34 191	3 799	8.3
Uttar Pradesh	158	536 077	3 393	6.2
Travancore-Cochin	25	87,243	3 490	5.9
Mysore	36	125 436	3 484	5.8
Hyderabad	70	200 654	2,866	5.8
Saurashtra	19	77 482	4 078	5.6
Punjab	37	121 412	3 281	5.1
Madhya Pradesh	16	52,769	3,298	1.8
Bihar	11	42,403	3,855	1.6
Bombay	39	150 853	3 868	1.4
Ajmer	1	4 021	4 071	1.4
Madras	23	88 691	3 856	0.8
Orissa	1	4 956	4 956	0.8
West Bengal	11	41 737	3 794	0.7
Tripura	—	—	—	—
Coorg	—	—	—	—
Madhya Bharat	—	—	—	—
Bhopal	—	—	—	—
Delhi	—	—	—	—

*Excluding the figures for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

NOTE: The States are arranged in order of the percentages given in Col. (5).

SOURCE: *Census of India 1951*, Vol. I Part II A, p. 15

The problem of defining a town is no doubt difficult. As the 1951 census report on Bombay points out:

In fact the definitions employed in the census are a compromise meant to cover, in the least confusing way, the extreme variety of conditions in which masses of people are actually found living together in identifiable units presenting some kind of similar character.¹¹

¹¹ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. I, p. 33

Without minimizing the difficulties inherent in the definition of town, it may be pointed out that the definition adopted in the censuses prior to 1961 and the statistics based thereon have the following limitations:

(1) There was an element of arbitrariness in the definition of town and the data pertaining to small towns and big villages were partly based on the discretion of Census Superintendents and to that extent objectivity was impaired.

(2) The aggregate urban population is not strictly comparable from decade to decade as these data were partly based on the individual judgement of scores of census officials.

TABLE 2.—PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION IN VILLAGES WITH POPULATION OF OVER 5,000 TO THE TOTAL RURAL POPULATION OF DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA: 1951

<i>States</i>	<i>Number of villages with population of 5,000 and over</i>	<i>Total population of such villages</i>	<i>Average population of such villages</i>	<i>Col. (3) as per cent of total rural population</i>
1	2	3	4	5
INDIA*	2,136	15,518,845	7,265	5.3
Travancore-Cochin	317	2,521,772	7,955	32.4
Sikkim	3	23,916	7,972	17.7
Madras	1,034	7,578,879	7,330	16.5
Delhi	4	36,716	9,179	12.0
West Bengal	126	961,943	7,635	5.2
Punjab	67	489,820	7,311	4.8
Bihar	231	1,588,807	6,878	4.2
Manipur	3	21,605	7,202	3.8
Bombay	118	838,471	7,106	3.4
Himachal Pradesh & Bilaspur	5	33,238	6,649	3.1
Bhopal	2	20,234	10,117	2.9
Madhya Pradesh	45	274,097	6,091	1.5
Uttar Pradesh	121	737,520	6,095	1.4
Mysore	8	77,070	9,634	1.1
Assam	9	68,909	7,657	0.8
Hyderabad	19	104,597	5,505	0.7
Rajasthan	14	81,279	5,806	0.6
Saurashtra	2	14,845	7,423	0.5
Pepsu	2	10,290	5,145	0.4
Madhya Bharat	2	11,476	5,738	0.2
Vindhya Pradesh	1	5,925	5,925	0.2
Orissa	3	17,431	5,810	0.1
Tripura	—	—	—	—
Coorg	—	—	—	—
Kutch	—	—	—	—
Ajmer	—	—	—	—

*Excluding figures for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

NOTE: The States are arranged in order of the percentages given in Col. (5).

SOURCE: See Table 1.

(3) It is not always true that there are only a few exceptions to the 5,000-population test. While it is largely true that the arbitrary decisions concern a small number of marginal cases, the definition of town makes it necessary to include in the list of towns all municipalities, notified areas, civil lines, and cantonments, irrespective of their population size. There are obvious disadvantages when demographic data are linked up with administrative decisions. The urban population may suddenly increase if new municipalities are created, or decrease if some municipalities are demoted or split up. In the then Bombay state, for example, a place with 2,000 or more inhabitants could legally be constituted into a municipal area.¹² If all these places had created municipalities and municipalities were automatically classified as towns (as was the practice), the urban population would seem suddenly to swell.

(4) The emphasis in the definition of town in the census was on urban characteristics like the availability of filtered water and electricity, the existence of schools, post offices, hospitals, etc. But there was no specified list of urban characteristics, no specific directions were given to Census Superintendents about the applicability of these tests and everything was left to the discretion of the census authorities. With the extension of community development projects all over the country and the fulfilment of Five Year Plans, a time may soon come when almost all Indian villages will have the benefit of filtered water, electricity, schools, hospitals, etc. According to the 1951 census concept, all these places might have qualified as towns. And if they are in fact classified as towns, almost the entire populations of some states would be classified as 'urban'. The modernization of villages and the elimination of the present disparities between the urban and rural areas can hardly be called urbanization.

The 1961 Census Definition

The definition of "town" adopted for the 1961 census was much more rigorous, than that followed in earlier censuses and, further, this new definition was followed all over India as uniformly as circumstances would permit. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Mr. Asok Mitra, who was the Census Commissioner for the 1961 census, had applied this rigorous definition of "town" in West Bengal even in 1951 when he was Census Superintendent in that State.

It must be mentioned, however, that even the 1961 census definition was not totally devoid of vagueness. To quote the 1961 Census Commissioner.

For the first time in 1951 all census statistics were presented separately for rural and urban areas. This has been continued in 1961 as a basic stratification as fundamental as the presentation of all statistics separately for males and females. The completion of two five year plans together with such reforms as the merger of Princely States and the Reorganisation of States seemed to

¹² *Census of India 1951*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 31. For a statement giving criteria for declaring a place a municipality in various states, see *Census of India, Paper No. 3 of 1960*, pp. 273-78.

demand a more rigid application of the tests for urbanization and the working out of a list of urban areas in 1961 that would form a series for the future. It should be remembered, however, that in every decade the Census Commissioner has tried to apply uniform eligibility tests throughout the country but the diversity of conditions prevailing in provinces and Princely States has defeated their realization to a certain extent even in 1961. To qualify for an urban area, a place should first be either a municipal corporation or a municipal area, or under a town committee or a notified area committee or cantonment board. In the absence of a central municipal law, these have always meant different things at different places so that a municipal town or town committee in State A, has had different standards from what obtained in State B, thus eluding comparability on all fours. In the second place, each census has adopted a number of census towns, which do not enjoy any statutory label of administration. This has been considered desirable in order to obtain a truer measure of urbanization as it is usual for an administrative label to fall some way behind actual achievement. These census towns were in 1961 determined on the basis of a number of empirical tests: (a) a density of not less than 1,000 per square mile; (b) a population of 5,000; (c) three-fourths of the occupations of the working population should be outside of agriculture; and (d) the place should have, according to the Superintendent of the State, a few pronounced urban characteristics and amenities, the definition of which, although leaving room for vagueness and discretion, yet meant to cover newly-founded industrial areas, large housing settlements, or places of tourist importance which have been recently served with all civic amenities. Naturally enough, such a course also implied the elimination of a fair number of places which had passed muster for towns in the past and the emergence of a number of new places as towns in 1961. All cases of elimination were first referred to the State Government and its approval secured before being struck off the 1961 census list of towns. All cases of fresh inclusion were required to be referred to the Registrar General's office, with full and sufficient reasons supporting the proposal to treat a place as a town, and the concurrence of that office had to be obtained.¹³

Variation in the Number of Towns

The first impact of the new definition of "town" was a "reduction" in the total number of towns in India between 1951 and 1961. There were 3,060 places classified as towns in India in 1951 (according to the 1951 census definition of town) while there were only 2,700 places so classified in 1961 (according to the 1961 definition of town), indicating a decrease of 360 towns in 1961 compared to 1951. It should not be concluded from this that 360 towns were deleted from the list of towns in 1961. The variation can be explained as follows:

¹³ *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II-A (i), p. 51.

Number of towns in 1951		3,060
Less		
(i) declassified towns in 1961	803	
(ii) merged towns in 1961	54	857
		<hr/> 2,203
Plus new towns in 1961		<hr/> 497
Number of towns in 1961		<hr/> 2,700

Table 3 reveals the wide inter-State differences in the extent of variation in the total number of towns during the decade under study. In West Bengal where the definition of "town" was the same both in 1951 and 1961, there was an increase of 64 in the number of towns while in Uttar Pradesh, there was a decrease in the number of towns by 219.

TABLE 3 — NUMBER OF TOWNS IN DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 1951 AND 1961

States	1951	1961	Variation
			(1951-61)
INDIA	3 060	2,700	-360
Andhra Pradesh	293	223	- 70
Assam	27	60	+ 33
Bihar	103	153	+ 45
Gujarat	243	181	- 62
Jammu and Kashmir*	25	43	+ 18
Kerala	94	92	- 2
Madhya Pradesh	202	219	+ 17
Madras	297	339	+ 42
Maharashtra	383	266	-117
Mysore	289	231	- 58
Orissa	39	62	+ 23
Punjab	194	189	- 5
Rajasthan	227	145	- 82
Uttar Pradesh	486	267	-219
W Bengal	120	184	+ 64
Union Territories and other areas	33	46	+ 13

*There was no census in Jammu and Kashmir in 1951. There were 32 towns in 1941 of which 7 were deleted in 1951. Thus there were 25 towns in 1951 (according to 1961 census). In 1961, 18 new towns were added.

Thus the new definition, while it gives a more realistic picture of urbanization than was given in earlier censuses, has created a problem of comparability over time. "Reclassification balance" as a component of urban growth has assumed added importance and unless proper adjustments are made, inferences concerning urban growth rates for the 1951-61 decade can be very misleading.

In 1961, there were 4,197 villages with populations of over 5,000 each and there were 268 towns with populations below 5,000 each. Tables 4 and 5 give the State-wise distribution of such big villages and small towns. It will be seen that, in 1961, in India as a whole, only 1.1 per cent of the urban population was in towns with population under 5,000 while 9.6 per cent of the rural population was in villages with population over 5,000. The comparable figures in 1951 were 3.3 per cent and 5.3 per cent respectively. Thus the rigorous definition of town adopted in the 1961 census was responsible for eliminating a large number of "rural towns" and overgrown villages from the list of towns. A comparison of Tables 1 and 4 will reveal that in 1951 there were 611 towns with populations below 5,000 while in 1961 there were only 268 such towns. Similarly, a comparison of Tables 2 and 5 will indicate that in 1951 there were 2,136 villages with populations over 5,000 while in 1961 the number of such villages increased to 4,197. It is also interesting to note that in Kerala, in 1951, 32.4 per cent of the villages were 5,000+ villages while the comparable figure in 1961 was 89 per cent.

The impact of the new definition on growth rates is brought out by Tables 6, 7 and 8 which give adjusted figures for the censuses of 1951 and 1961.

TABLE 4.—PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION IN TOWNS WITH POPULATION BELOW 5,000 TO THE TOTAL URBAN POPULATION OF DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA: 1961

<i>States/Union Territories</i>	<i>Number of towns with population under 5,000</i>	<i>Total population of such towns</i>	<i>Average population of such towns</i>	<i>Col. (3) as per cent of total urban population</i>
1	2	3	4	5
INDIA	268	887,103	3,310	1.1
Goa, Daman and Diu	7	17,412	2,487	17.3
Himachal Pradesh	7	10,076	1,439	15.8
Jammu & Kashmir	30	85,204	2,840	14.4
Assam	11	41,177	3,743	4.5
Punjab	43	151,803	3,530	3.7
Mysore	37	130,318	3,522	2.5
Madhya Pradesh	17	65,817	3,872	1.4
Madras	36	109,976	3,055	1.2
Rajasthan	9	34,259	3,807	1.0
Orissa	3	9,655	3,218	0.9
Bihar	8	30,036	3,755	0.8
Gujarat	9	36,444	4,049	0.7
West Bengal	12	52,282	4,357	0.6
Maharashtra	15	57,730	3,849	0.5
Uttar Pradesh	16	38,161	2,385	0.4
Andhra Pradesh	7	16,753	2,393	0.3

NOTE: The States are arranged in order of the percentages given in Col. (5).

SOURCE: *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II-A (i), *General Population Tables*, Table A-IV, Statement 6, pp. 272-75.

TABLE 5—PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION IN VILLAGES WITH POPULATION OF OVER 5,000 TO THE TOTAL RURAL POPULATION OF DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 1961

<i>States/Union Territories</i>	<i>Number of villages with population of 5,000 and over</i>	<i>Total population of such villages</i>	<i>Average population of such villages</i>	<i>Col (3) as per cent of total rural population</i>
1	2	3	4	5
INDIA	4,197	34 628,529	8,251	9.6
Kerala	1,097	12,769,455	11,640	89.0
Goa, Daman and Diu	15	106,023	7,068	20.2
Madras	545	4 397,768	8,069	17.8
Andhra Pradesh	486	3,252,367	6,692	10.9
Maharashtra	334	2,361,894	7,072	8.3
Bihar	485	3,436,956	7,087	8.1
West Bengal	269	1,893,487	7,039	7.2
Punjab	154	1,050 834	6,824	6.5
Gujarat	148	975,145	6,589	6.4
Mysore	172	1,095,904	6,372	6.0
Pondicherry	3	16,855	5 618	6.0
Rajasthan	94	599,799	6,381	3.6
Uttar Pradesh	331	2,290 813	6,921	3.6
Manipur	2	11,866	5,933	1.7
NEFA	1	5,145	5,145	1.5
Jammu & Kashmir	5	33,940	6,788	1.1
Assam	12	75,434	6,286	0.7
Madhya Pradesh	28	165,048	5,895	0.6
Orissa	16	89,796	5,612	0.5

NOTE: The States are arranged in order of the percentages given in Col (5).

SOURCE: *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II A (i) *General Population Tables*, Table A III, pp. 228-89.

TABLE 6.—ADJUSTED URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA 1951 AND 1961

	<i>Urban population</i>	
	1951	1961
A. As per the definition of urban adopted in 1951 and 1961 (not comparable)	62,443,934	78,936,603
B. As per the 1951 census definition (by hypothetically including in the 1961 urban population the 1961 population of places which were urban in 1951 but eliminated in 1961 on account of the stricter definition)	62,443,934	83,674 063
C. As per the 1961 Census definition adjusted to 1951 Census	60,412,796	78,936,603

SOURCE: *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II A(i), *General Population Tables*, pp. 262-63.

TABLE 7.—ADJUSTED FIGURES FOR GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION: 1951 AND 1961

	<i>Net increase (millions) 1951-61</i>	<i>Per cent increase 1951-61</i>
A. Unadjusted	16.49	26.4
B. Adjusted (method B)	21.23	34.0
C. Adjusted (method C)	18.52	30.7

TABLE 8.—ADJUSTED FIGURES FOR PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION: 1951 AND 1961

	<i>Per cent of total population 1951</i>	<i>Per cent of total population 1961</i>	<i>Variation in proportion</i>
A. Unadjusted	17.29	17.97	+0.68
B. Adjusted (method B)	17.29	19.05	+1.76
C. Adjusted (method C)	16.73	17.97	+1.24

While the 1961 census reports an urban growth rate of 26.4 per cent for the 1951-61 decade, the adjusted figure which takes note of definitional changes is 34 per cent (according to method B) and the adjusted figure for the proportion of urban to total population in 1961 is 19.1 per cent as against the unadjusted figure of 18.0 per cent.

For a proper study of urbanization during the 1951-61 decade, one must make the necessary adjustments for all the individual States and Union Territories. One can indeed arrive at misleading conclusions if the 1961 census figures are taken as such to measure urban growth rates.

It is also necessary to keep in mind the distinction between towns and town-groups. All census tables do not adopt the same concept uniformly and there are, therefore, several minor discrepancies in tables relating to urban growth, depending on the treatment of an urban area as a town or as a constituent of a town-group.

Town Groups: 1951 and 1961

One of the new features of the 1951 census was the adoption of the concept of "town group" as distinct from "town". In censuses prior to 1951, no distinction was drawn between an isolated town and "a group of towns which adjoined one another so closely as to form a single inhabited urban locality."¹⁴ At this census, an attempt was made to distinguish the latter (under the name town group) from the former (town). But this distinction was limited only to town groups with an aggregate population of 100,000 and over.

¹⁴ *Census of India 1951*, Vol. I, Part II-A, p. 52.

The 1961 census continued to present data for town groups with an improvement in the tabulation scheme, namely, the concept of town group was applied to all urban classes and not to class I (Pop 100 000 and over) only as was the case in 1951

In 1961, town groups were demarcated in the following manner

It was realised that in certain clusters the urban area is not really limited only to the notified boundary of any one or two places but embraces satellite towns and cities, industrial towns or settlements close to this urban area, which may even be surrounded by rural areas. There was, therefore, an attempt from the very beginning to define well formed clusters and treat them as town groups, the main determinants being facility of road and railway transport, and the interchange of population on account of business and work. These town groups emerged in two types (a) town groups which were made up of a cluster of neighbouring municipalities only, and (b) town groups which were made up of municipal and non municipal localities. In actual practice, in those cases where there was no clear articulation of extension, any town falling within a radius of 2 to 4 and sometimes 5 miles of the periphery of the main and most populous city was empirically examined in respect of continuity of urban characteristics, communications, possibility of satisfactory communication and economic interdependence of function to determine whether the town should be incorporated in a town group. These town groups were devised with the intention of marking off areas of conglomerate growth which as a whole rather than the individual units should henceforth receive attention in matters of planning and development. Further, a town group also suggests the spatial directions of future growth¹¹

While analysing census data on urban population, one must first check whether the data relate to town groups or towns. The number of towns in each urban class, their population and growth rate will vary, depending on the concept (town or town group) used. Table 9 illustrates this point.

TABLE 9 — DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND TOWN GROUPS AND TOWNS BY SIX URBAN CLASSES 1961

Class of town	No of towns	No of town groups and towns	Pop (millions)	
			Towns	Town groups and towns
I 100,000 & over	107	113	35.13	35.13
II 50 000—99,999	139	138	9.53	9.39
III 20 000—49,999	518	484	15.75	14.63
IV 10 000—19 999	820	743	11.30	10.21
V 5 000—9 999	848	761	6.34	5.19
VI Below 5,000	268	218	0.89	0.74
TOTAL	2700	2462	78.94	73.94

¹¹ Census of India 1961, Vol. I, Part II-A (3), p. 52.

1971 Census

For the 1971 census, the definition of "town" was the same as in 1961. However, the term "town group" was abandoned and instead, the expression "urban agglomeration" was used. In 1961, the concept of "town group" was not uniformly applied in all the States of India and this created several methodological problems. In 1971, the census organization attempted to adopt the concept of "urban agglomeration" uniformly in all the States. Thus the complicated problem of adjusting for definitional changes will, to a considerable extent, be lessened on account of the retention of the 1961 definition of "town" in 1971, though there may still be some methodological problems concerning the comparability of data on "town groups". The definition of "urban agglomeration" adopted in the 1971 census is more or less the same as the definition of the "town group" adopted in the 1961 census. According to the definition, an urban agglomeration includes urban areas outside the municipal boundaries of a city but excludes rural pockets.

Conclusion

Looking back over the census history of the last seven decades, one is struck by the voluminous discussion in numerous census reports on the definition of "town". In spite of this massive literature, at times tedious, at times amusing, but always controversial, the 1971 Census Commissioner did not reach the end of the journey. What is rural? What is urban? These are questions which still echo in the halls of international seminars and conferences and every new seminar or conference only adds to the confusion. The sociologists, at least for some time, seemed to have got away with side-stepping the problem by refusing to recognize the dichotomy between rural and urban. They put forward the concept of rural-urban continuum. Francisco Benet, while summing up the development of the concept of rural-urban continuum made a frontal attack on sociologists, saying, "... we admire the labour so far, the richness of rural-urban sociology and its collections of data but one may propose, with all seriousness and a clinical objectivity, that these are no more than the wares of a flea market."¹⁶ In short, according to Benet, the sociologist has failed. Hope lies in the historian. Benet makes a plea for the study of "process", not "continuum". His argument runs as follows:

The metaphor of the continuum becomes sophism where nature proceeds by jumps, where the city is prior to husbandry or to any man-made landscape and civilization skips the feudal crisis, where there is as yet no dialectical relation between the urban and the rural. This leads sociologists to underestimate historical time, the value of each age or epoch; hence, to underestimate the notion of process. It is clear that we must put some teeth into this philosophy by adding the historical dimension and taking it to mean process.¹⁷

¹⁶ Francisco Benet: "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. VI, No. I, October 1963, p. 17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

But this is only a historian's view. Geographers too have firm views on this subject. One wonders if it is at all possible to have a consensus between the demographer and the sociologist, the geographer and the historian, the administrator and the town planner, for the city is like a mirror and each person sees in it the image of his own discipline.

It is interesting to note that in 1950, one of the earliest population studies of the United Nations looked into the problem of defining "urban" and "rural" populations.¹⁸ After almost twenty years, another population study of the United Nations¹⁹ considered this problem again without arriving at any solution, in spite of the tremendous literature and data on urbanization which have emanated in the last twenty years. This study examined the "bewildering variety of 'urban' definitions" in 123 recent censuses. The feeling of helplessness in tackling this problem will be evident from the following conclusion of this study:

The historic consideration of this subject, as well as the survey of its current features, has led to the conclusion that a definition of "urban" places cannot be devised which has unvarying relevance throughout the changes in time and diversity in local conditions. It is recognized that the "urban" phenomenon is associated with numerous aspects and, furthermore, that these aspects can coincide or overlap to a varied extent, and that not all are necessarily present at the same time. Urbanization, consequently, will not be confined to any single definition for the present purpose. Instead of a definition, the foregoing "statement of recognition" will have to be accepted as a more adequate expression to reflect the manifestations of a greatly varied and and complex process.²⁰

For the time being, one must be content with this "statement of recognition".

¹⁸ United Nations, Population Studies, No. 8, *Data on Urban and Rural Population in Recent Censuses*. New York, 1950.

¹⁹ United Nations, Population Studies, No. 44, *Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population, 1920-2000*. New York, 1969.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER THREE

HOW URBAN ARE OUR TOWNS AND CITIES

WE HAVE discussed in Chapter Two the definition of "town" adopted in the 1961 census of India. In this chapter we shall discuss the results of our analysis based on the application of three eligibility tests to each of the 2,700 towns and cities of India listed by the 1961 census. This involved the calculation of density and the distribution of working population between agricultural and non-agricultural categories in each of the 2,700 towns. We shall present only the summary tables here. We shall denote the results of the three tests as follows:

- A* indicates a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile
- a* stands for the absence of attribute *A*
- B* indicates a population of 5,000 and over
- b* stands for the absence of attribute *B*
- C* indicates that at least 75 per cent of the working force is engaged in non-agricultural occupations
- c* stands for the absence of attribute *C*

On the basis of the association of these three attributes, we get the following eight possible categories: *ABC*, *AbC*, *ABc*, *Abc*, *aBC*, *abC*, *aBc* and *abc*. In addition, we have a small category of unclassified towns for which complete data are not available.

A town belonging to the *ABC* category satisfies all the three eligibility tests. That is to say, it has a density of more than 1,000 persons per square mile; a population of more than 5,000; and more than 75 per cent of its working population is engaged in non-agricultural activities. Conversely, a town belonging to the *abc* category will denote that it does not satisfy any of the three eligibility tests.

In Table 1 we give the distribution of the total number of towns in India in 1961 according to the eight categories just described.

It will be seen that out of 2,700 towns in India, 1,610 towns (i.e. 60 per cent of the total number) satisfy all the three eligibility tests. There are wide inter-state variations in regard to these three tests as will be seen from Table 2.

It will be seen that the percentage of towns satisfying all the three eligibility tests varies from 21 in Jammu & Kashmir to 86 in Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND POPULATION IN INDIA ACCORDING TO THREE ELIGIBILITY TESTS

S. No	Category*	No of towns	Per cent of total towns	Population (1961)	Per cent of total urban pop
1	ABC	1,610	59.6	65,748,447	83.30
2.	AbC	130	4.8	425,239	0.54
3	ABc	595	22.1	7,758,015	9.83
4	Abc	72	2.7	276,023	0.36
5	aBC	40	1.5	493,600	0.62
6	abC	26	1.0	63,024	0.08
7.	aBc	155	5.7	1,457,654	1.84
8	abc	28	1.0	98,928	0.12
9	Unclassified	44	1.6	2,615,673	3.31

*ABC —Density over 1,000, population over 5,000 and over 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

AbC —Density over 1,000, population below 5,000 and over 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

ABc —Density over 1,000, population over 5,000 and less than 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

Abc —Density over 1,000, population below 5,000 and less than 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

aBC —Density less than 1,000, population over 5,000 and over 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

abC —Density less than 1,000, population less than 5,000 and more than 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

aBc —Density less than 1,000, population over 5,000 and less than 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

abc —Density less than 1,000, population less than 5,000 and less than 75 per cent of workers in non-agriculture

TABLE 2.—PER CENT OF TOWNS AND THEIR POPULATION IN EACH STATE WHICH SATISFY ALL THE THREE ELIGIBILITY TESTS

State	Number of ABC towns	Per cent of total towns in each state	Population of ABC towns in '000s	Per cent of urban population of each state
INDIA	1,610	60	65,748	83
Andhra Pradesh	89	40	3,440	55
Assam	48	80	865	95
Bihar	105	69	3,351	86
Gujarat	85	47	3,250	61
Jammu & Kashmir	9	21	452	76
Kerala	79	86	2,355	92
Madhya Pradesh	149	68	4,167	90
Madras	189	56	7,437	83
Maharashtra	119	45	9,377	84
Mysore	103	45	3,907	74
Orissa	44	71	969	87
Punjab	117	62	3,624	89
Rajasthan	60	41	2,324	71
Uttar Pradesh	229	86	9,181	97
West Bengal	159	86	8,333	98

We shall now pass on to a consideration of the civic status of each of the 2,700 towns in India as of 1961. The data are given in Table 3.

It will be seen from this table that 70 per cent of towns have some form of municipal status while 30 per cent do not have such status.

Now, we may consider the following question: How many of these municipalities satisfy all the three eligibility tests and how many do not? Similarly, we may ask how many of the non-municipal towns satisfy the three eligibility

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS BY CIVIC STATUS

<i>Civic status</i>	<i>Total no. of towns</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
Municipal Corporation	20	0.74
Municipality	1,544	57.19
Municipal Board		
Municipal Committee		
City Municipality		
Town Municipality		
Municipal Town Committee		
Town Committee	144	5.33
Town Board		
Town Area		
Town Area Committee		
Notified Area	116	4.30
Notified Area Committee		
Notified Area Council		
Cantonment	56	2.07
Cantonment Board		
Small Town Committee	4	0.15
Sanitary Board	3	0.11
Station Committee	2	0.07
Union Committee		
Panchayat	445	16.48
Town Panchayat		
Village Panchayat		
Gram Panchayat		
Non-Municipal	177	6.56
Non-Panchayat		
Non-Notified Area		
Township	2	0.07
No Civic Status	187	6.93
TOTAL	2,700	100.00

tests and how many do not? To answer these questions, we have to analyse the association of four attributes, namely, *A*, *B*, *C* and *M* (municipal status), and for the negative attributes we have to consider *a*, *b*, *c* and *m*. This gives us a total of 16 categories. In addition, we have two small categories of unclassified *M* and unclassified *m* for which complete data are not available in the census. In Table 4 we give the details for all these 18 categories.

TABLE 4—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS BY THREE ELIGIBILITY TESTS AND CIVIC STATUS

<i>S No</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>No of towns</i>	<i>Per cent of total towns</i>	<i>Population (1961)</i>	<i>Per cent of total urban population</i>
1	<i>ABCM</i>	1,165	43.15	57,755,474	73.17
2	<i>AbCM</i>	96	3.55	306,892	0.39
3	<i>ABcM</i>	379	14.04	5,177,988	6.56
4	<i>AbcM</i>	64	2.37	241,280	0.31
5	<i>aBCM</i>	22	0.81	263,543	0.33
6	<i>abCM</i>	19	0.70	46,577	0.06
7	<i>aBcM</i>	94	3.48	909,328	1.15
8	<i>abcM</i>	18	0.67	61,423	0.08
9	<i>ABCM</i>	445	16.48	7,992,973	10.13
10	<i>AbCM</i>	34	1.26	118,347	0.15
11	<i>ABcm</i>	216	8.00	2,580,027	3.27
12	<i>Abcm</i>	8	0.30	34,743	0.05
13	<i>aBCm</i>	18	0.67	230,057	0.29
14	<i>abCm</i>	7	0.26	16,447	0.02
15	<i>aBcm</i>	61	2.26	548,325	0.69
16	<i>abcm</i>	10	0.37	34,505	0.04
17	Unclassified <i>M</i>	32	1.19	2,528,370	3.20
18	Unclassified <i>m</i>	12	0.44	87,303	0.16
TOTAL		2,700	100.00	78,936,603	100.00

NOTE: *M* denotes municipal status while *m* indicates that the town has no municipal status. For other notations see Table 1.

This table shows that 43 per cent of the towns in India enjoy municipal status and also satisfy all the three eligibility tests. In this sense, we may say that 43 per cent of the towns in India are truly urban. The distribution of these towns according to the population size class is given in Table 5.

It will be seen that roughly 92 per cent of the towns with population of 50,000 and over (i.e. Classes I & II) belong to the *ABCM* category. That is to say, they fulfil all the three eligibility tests and also enjoy municipal status.

In Table 6 we give the state-wise distribution of *ABCM* towns. It will be seen that the percentage of such towns varies from 19 in Madras to 84 in Uttar Pradesh.

In this connection, it must be mentioned that the fact that there is no uniform municipal law applicable to all the States of India introduces an element of statistical impurity in the comparability of municipal status of towns in different

TABLE 5.—DISTRIBUTION OF ABCM TOWNS INTO SIX URBAN CLASSES

<i>Urban classes</i>	<i>Number of ABCM towns</i>	<i>Total no. of towns</i>	<i>Per cent of ABCM towns to total</i>
I 100,000 and over	98	107	91.6
II 50,000 – 99,999	129	139	92.8
III 20,000 – 49,999	362	518	69.9
IV 10,000 – 19,999	333	820	40.6
V 5,000 – 9,999	243	848	28.7
VI Below 5,000	—	268	—
TOTAL	1,165	2,700	43.2

TABLE 6.—PER CENT OF TOTAL TOWNS AND THEIR POPULATION IN EACH STATE WHICH BELONG TO THE ABCM CATEGORY

<i>States</i>	<i>Number of ABCM towns</i>	<i>Per cent of total towns in each state</i>	<i>Population of ABCM towns (in '000)</i>	<i>Per cent of urban population in each state</i>
INDIA	1,165	43	57,755	73
Andhra Pradesh	60	27	2,894	46
Assam	35	58	704	77
Bihar	64	42	2,578	66
Gujarat	68	38	3,065	58
Jammu & Kashmir	9	21	452	76
Kerala	27	29	1,570	61
Madhya Pradesh	117	53	3,754	81
Madras	65	19	4,029	45
Maharashtra	92	35	9,121	82
Mysore	83	36	3,510	67
Orissa	41	66	931	84
Punjab	116	61	3,614	88
Rajasthan	60	41	2,324	71
Uttar Pradesh	224	84	9,149	97
West Bengal	83	45	7,351	86

States. As the Census Commission of 1961 points out, "in the absence of a central municipal law these have always meant different things at different places so that a municipal town or a town committee in State A has had different standards from what obtained in State B, thus eluding comparability on all fours."¹ Thus, even though three objective eligibility tests are applied to places which are not municipalities and, therefore, do not automatically qualify to be towns, the fact that 70 per cent of the towns have municipal status shows the somewhat limited role of the three tests in ensuring a purely statistical classification of towns. And here lies the real weakness of the definitions of "town" adopted in the Indian census right from 1891 to 1971.

¹ *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II-A(i), p. 51.

A note of caution in interpreting these results is due here. Though we have said that *ABCM* towns are towns which satisfy all the three tests and also have municipal status and, in a sense, are truly urban, the fact remains that there are several instances of new townships which are truly urban but yet do not have any civic status and are, therefore, not included in the *ABCM* category. West Bengal is an example of the point we wish to emphasize. There are several towns which satisfy the three eligibility tests but yet do not enjoy any civic status. For example, Burnpur, the Durgapur Steel Project Area, the Durgapur Coke Oven Plant Area, etc., which are highly modern townships are classified as census towns in 1961 without any civic status, whereas in Uttar Pradesh, where there are not many such new townships, the *ABCM* towns constitute 84 per cent of the total number of towns. This is because in most of the towns, the density is over 1,000 persons, the population is over 5,000, and over 75 per cent of the workers are dependent on non agricultural activities. But the first two attributes are a function of population and not really an index of urban characteristics. And the fact that these towns have municipal status again does not necessarily imply that these are truly urban areas.

Thus, in the last analysis, it is really difficult to say what is truly urban in the Indian context and what is not. In terms of the three tests it will be clear that density would depend a great deal on geographical conditions. There are, however, cases where an arbitrary delimitation of municipal area gives very unrealistic figures for the density of population. It may also be mentioned that there are several rural tracts, especially in Kerala and West Bengal, where the rural density is more than 1,000 persons per square mile.

Turning to the second eligibility test, namely, population of 5,000 and over, we find that this again is not a particularly sensitive index of urbanization. With the growth of population at a rapid rate, the number of places where the population exceeds 5,000 is also increasing rapidly. According to the 1961 census in India, there are over 4,000 villages where the population exceeds 5,000. The third test, namely, 75 per cent and over of the working force dependent on non agricultural activities, is, in fact, the most sensitive index of urbanization in the sense that it attempts a functional classification of places. We may mention here that in spite of the application of this test, according to the 1961 census, there were about 600 "agricultural towns" where this test obviously was not applicable though the other two tests were. There were 595 towns where the population was over 5,000 and the density was over 1,000, but less than 75 per cent of the workers were engaged in non agricultural activities. This highlights the role of agriculture even in urban areas and indicates the state of industrialization.

To sum up, the application of the three empirical tests for the classification of places which are not automatically listed as towns in view of their municipal status has certainly imparted uniformity and rigour to the classification of places into villages and towns in the 1961 census. In fact, the rigorous definition of "urban" adopted in the 1961 census has led to the deletion of 803 towns of 1951 from the list of towns in 1961. But the problem of classifying towns on the basis of the application of purely objective statistical criteria has yet to be

solved by the Indian census administration. As we have seen, the first part of the definition of towns has remained the same over the census decades, that is to say, municipalities, corporations, cantonments, etc., are by definition towns. Unless clear and objective criteria are also adopted for the classification of places as municipalities and these are uniformly followed in all the States of India, it will not be possible to eliminate the statistical impurities inherent in the definition of "town", even if we consider the rigorous definition adopted in the 1961 census.

This, of course, raises wider questions. Can administrative expediency be totally sacrificed for the sake of statistical purity? It can be argued that the census is primarily an administrative affair and must meet the requirements of administrators. The procedure adopted so far in the classification of towns is not first to apply the three tests to all places and then determine whether or not each place is a village or a town but to make a preliminary list of villages and towns on the basis of past records and in the light of the first results of the census, delete or add to this list of towns and villages. In fact, there were several problems in the application of the three uniform tests prescribed by the Census Commissioner of 1961 as is evident from the 1961 census reports of the different States of India. Our analysis reveals that even these three tests were not very rigidly applied in every State of India. Some State census reports have mentioned that the original idea of the Census Commissioner was to work out the proportion of non-agricultural workers in the *adult male* working force. But this would have involved an analysis of the age-distribution of the working population. Such post-census analysis cannot obviously be undertaken in a pre-census listing of towns. There are, no doubt, genuine difficulties in the classification of towns from the purely statistical point of view. However, if relevant data are presented for each town and village it will be possible to apply the eligibility tests and arrive at one's own list of towns defined in a purely statistical manner. The exercise we have done in this chapter is somewhat on these lines. Our analysis shows that only 60 per cent of the census towns of 1961 satisfy all the three eligibility tests. And if we consider municipal status along with the three eligibility tests, only 43 per cent of the towns satisfy all the four tests. To that extent, the true urban population of India is less and the proportion of urban to the total is likewise smaller than that indicated by the census figure.

PART THREE

Urban Growth : 1901-71

CHAPTER FOUR

SIX DECADES OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA : 1901-61

THE STATE OF urbanization in India in 1901 was tersely summed up by William Digby in his book *"Prosperous" British India* as follows

There are two Indias the India of the Presidency and the chief provincial cities, of the railway systems, of the hill stations There are two countries Anglostan, the land especially ruled by the English, in which English investments have been made and Hindustan, practically all India fifty miles from each side of the railway lines ¹

It is unfortunate that no historian got interested in studying the role of urbanization in the economic development in India though there are a few studies on the history of individual cities and towns Ever since the first regular census was taken in 1881, almost all census reports have commented on urban growth but these discussions are mostly descriptive and lack historical depth and statistical rigour The Census Commissioners of India and the Census Superintendents of various Provinces and States, for understandable reasons, were more concerned with the decade immediately preceding the census for which they were responsible, and their comments on urban growth were mostly confined to events in that decade alone The presentation of statistical data was restricted to a few set tables giving the growth rates for different urban classes based on population size Nevertheless, most of these census reports do give an idea of the process of urbanization decade by decade Some of the reports, however, contain considerable speculative material on the causes of the slow pace of urbanization in India in the early decades of this century Some Census Commissioners put forward their own hypotheses on urbanization and sometimes there was a lively controversy in successive census reports where some of these hypotheses were refuted and new ones advanced For example, commenting on the low proportion of urban population in Bengal, the 1901 census report points out

Race also is possibly an important factor, and the Mongoloid element in the population of Bengal may be less inclined to congregate in towns than the

¹ William Digby *"Prosperous" British India*. London, 1901 pp 291-92.

On the other hand, the decadence of "country towns" was mentioned as a factor leading to slow urbanization. As the 1921 census report puts it

It will be observed here that while the towns with population above 50,000 have increased by over 16 per cent in the last decade (1911-21), the increase has been considerably less in those between 5,000 and 50,000, while the population of the towns between 10,000 and 20,000 has not even kept up with the progress of the general population of the country. The significance of these comparisons lies in the strong indication which they give of the gradual decadence of the medium-sized country town and the growth of the larger cities and towns under the influence of commercial and industrial development.⁷

Psychological factors too were mentioned in census reports as having their impact on urbanization. The 1931 report on Mysore State points out

A proverb in Kannada says "After ruin go to the city." It means that a man who has lost his property in the country and can make no living there, can find work and earn a living in the city. It implies also that while he can live in the country he would not think of going to the city.⁸

But, ten years later, the 1941 census report had the following to say

The much more potent reason than is usually realised, is the fact that city life has begun really to appeal to the ordinary middle class or lower middle class Indians, because for the first time accommodation within his means and his taste has become available. The huge blocks of flats which in less than a decade have completely altered the face of Bombay and parts of Calcutta, with their amenities of running water, electric light and the city features of the tram, the bus, the cinema, etc. have meant that every year sees an increase in the number of persons who seek to pass their retirement or their leisure in a city instead of their farm houses.⁹

Accidents of history have been mentioned in census reports as causing urbanization. The 1951 census report, for example, makes this rather rash statement:

The growth of towns has largely depended, at any rate in the past, on the accidents of history and geography.¹⁰

The 1941 census report, however, had made a more cautious statement on this

The choice of Calcutta was largely fortuitous, likewise Madras, and had there been planning in existence two or three hundred years ago, the main ports of the east coast might easily have been elsewhere. Madras as a port is so starkly artificial that anywhere else would have done equally well and

⁷ Census of India 1921, Vol. I, Report, p. 66.

⁸ Census of India 1931, Vol. XIII, Report on Mysore, p. 69.

⁹ Census of India 1941, Vol. I, India, p. 26.

¹⁰ Census of India 1951, Vol. I, Part I A Report, p. 44.

Dravidian and Arya Dravidian inhabitants of other parts. Assam, which is even more markedly Mongoloid, has the smallest urban population of any part of India.²

This hypothesis was challenged in the 1931 census report which observes:

It may, however, be questioned whether race has in this case anything to do with the matter, and we should be inclined to account for the phenomenon not by race but by rainfall. The areas of the greatest precipitation in the Peninsula are the Malabar Coast, Bengal, Assam and Lower Burma and if living in cities is unpopular, as it certainly is, in these regions it is perhaps rather on account of the greater degree of discomfort which it involves than on account of the racial composition of the people.³

While the possible impact of race and rainfall on urbanization remained in the realm of speculation, the role of famine and plague in the process of urbanization was commented upon with greater confidence by Census Commissioners though the statistics bearing on the subject continued to be vague and elusive. The famine of 1900 in several parts of India drove many persons from rural areas to the towns and cities while the ravages of plague around 1911 brought about an exodus of urban population to the rural areas. This largely contributed to the slow growth of urbanization during 1901-11. As the 1911 census report points out:

It is impossible to make any estimate of direct and indirect effects of plague on the growth of towns, but it is quite certain that they have been enormous.⁴

Plague was not an unmitigated evil according to the 1911 Census Superintendent of Bombay who says in his report:

Out of evil good may come and if it achieves nothing else plague will have served a useful purpose if it prevents urbanization and promotes suburbs.⁵

Pilgrims, however, had the opposite effect. For example, the presence of a large number of pilgrims in Puri in 1901 suddenly swelled the population of that town which gave a wrong impression of urban growth in later decades.

It was not only factors like race and rainfall, plague and pilgrims that received the attention of Census Commissioners in relation to urbanization. The growth of trade and industries was also recognized as playing a role. The 1911 census report on Bengal, Bihar and Orissa commented:

After the somewhat dreary sketch of urban decay, stagnation or decimation by disease ... it is refreshing to turn to the number of towns, some old, some young and nascent, which are fast developing owing to the expansion of trade and industrial enterprise, often introduced and directed by Europeans.⁶

² *Census of India 1901, Vol. I, General Report*, pp. 27-28.

³ *Census of India 1931, Vol. I, Report*, p. 49.

⁴ *Census of India 1911, Vol. I, Report*, pp. 40-41.

⁵ *Census of India 1911, Vol. VII, Report on Bombay Presidency*, p. 53.

⁶ *Census of India 1911, Vol. V, Report on Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, & Sikkim*, pp. 27-28.

looking for urbanization which "will be a sign, though not an absolute proof, that economic growth has accelerated."¹⁴

We believe that *urbanization in the context of rapid population growth and surplus labour*—which is the case of present-day India—calls for fresh thinking on the industrialization-urbanization process.¹⁵ It is our contention that the theoretical generalizations regarding the relationship between industrialization and urbanization are rather flimsy and that the empirical studies concerning the process of industrialization and urbanization lack rigorous analysis, mostly because adequate data are not available. As a result, much of the discussion on the subject revolves round pedestrian controversies regarding capital intensive and labour intensive techniques, push and pull factors in migration and so on. A comprehensive study of the industrialization-urbanization process merits the joint efforts of historians, economists and demographers. The Indian case is in many ways unique and such efforts are, therefore, bound to be rewarding. We shall now present a broad statistical picture of urbanization in the first six decades of the present century.

THE SIX CLASSES OF TOWNS

It is customary in Indian censuses to classify towns in the following six categories, based on population size:

- I 100 000 and over
- II 50 000 to 99,999
- III 20 000 to 49,999
- IV 10 000 to 19,999
- V 5,000 to 9,999
- VI Below 5,000

As we have already observed, in the 1961 census, the tests for determining whether or not a place was a "town" were much more rigorous than in previous censuses. Briefly, the tests adopted in the 1961 census were (a) a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile, (b) a population of not less than 5,000, (c) at least three-fourths of the working population dependent on non-agricultural activities, and (d) a few pronounced urban characteristics.

In Table 1(a) we present the distribution of towns in India in 1961 in six urban classes without taking account of "town groups." In Table 1(b) the data are presented for town groups which include constituent towns and, therefore, the total number of towns and their distribution vary between Tables 1(a) and 1(b). It will be seen that cities and town groups account for over 48 per cent of the urban population of India. Even if we take into consideration only cities with a population of 100 000 and over, we find that about 45 per cent of India's urban population resides in such cities.

If we take the first three urban classes into consideration (i.e. all towns and

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ See Chapter Seven for an elaboration of this thesis.

many places much better. It is from the accidents of first contacts that we have it where it is.¹¹

The 1961 census revealed, quite unexpectedly, a slow rate of urbanization. This must partly be attributed to definitional changes of "urban" between 1951 and 1961 but these alone cannot explain the comparative slowness of urbanization in a decade of rapid industrialization. As the 1961 Census Commissioner put it in the first Census Paper published soon after the census:

One cannot help observing that even if none of the 1951 census towns were eliminated, the rate of urban growth during 1951-61 would still have belied widely-held expectations of rapid increase It is significant that about two-thirds of the decennial urban population increase have occurred in cities of more than 100,000. This implies that these large centres are still expanding industrial and commercial activity, claiming at the same time a comparatively large share in construction activities, public amenities and transport services.¹²

Looking back over the history of six decades of urbanization in India as revealed in census reports, we find that a number of factors were mentioned to explain the slow growth of urban population: race, rainfall, plague, attachment to village life, etc., while famines and the presence of pilgrims were also mentioned as factors which, by artificially inflating urban population in the initial census year, gave the impression of slow urbanization in the following decade. The Second World War and the partition of India in 1947 were mainly responsible for a sudden spurt in urban growth during the decades 1931-41 and 1941-51. The 1951-61 decade was marked by rapid strides in industrialization and it was generally expected that urbanization too would be rapid during this decade but the 1961 census data do not give any evidence of accelerating urbanization. So, once again, the census authorities were called upon to comment on the phenomenon of slow urbanization ("slow" in the context of rapid industrialization).

In his paper for the 1960 international seminar at Berkeley, Kingsley Davis posed the question, "Why has India's urbanization been so slow?" and proceeded to answer it as follows:

The answer, I suggest, is the relative slowness of economic development in India. Although nobody knows the past Indian rate of economic development the evidence seems to indicate that it is not likely to have been rapid, compared to that of most other countries at roughly similar stages.¹³

We quoted Daniel Thorner in support of his view. Turning to the preliminary results of the 1961 census, Davis is at a loss to explain "why urbanization has not moved rapidly since 1951," giving the impression that he is instinctively

¹¹ *Census of India 1941, Vol. I, India*, p. 27.

¹² *Census of India 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962*, p. ix.

¹³ Kingsley Davis: "Urbanization in India: Past and Future," in Roy Turner (ed.): *India's Urban Future* Berkeley, 1962, p. 8.

TABLE 2(a).—NUMBER OF TOWNS IN SIX URBAN CLASSES, INDIA AND STATES 1961

States	Urban classes						Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
INDIA	107	139	518	820	848	268	2,700
1 Andhra Pradesh	11	9	51	73	72	7	223
2 Assam	1	2	10	12	24	11	60
3 Bihar	7	7	33	52	46	8	153
4 Gujarat	6	9	43	54	60	9	181
5 Jammu & Kashmir	2	—	1	4	6	30	43
6 Kerala	4	5	31	33	18	1	92
7 Madhya Pradesh	6	6	35	57	98	17	219
8 Madras	9	19	61	119	95	36	339
9 Maharashtra	12	15	47	89	88	15	266
10 Mysore	6	9	34	81	64	37	231
11 Orissa	1	3	8	22	25	3	62
12 Punjab	5	12	35	40	54	43	189
13 Rajasthan	6	4	23	52	51	9	145
14 Uttar Pradesh	17	18	56	81	79	16	257
15 W Bengal	12	19	46	45	50	12	184
Union Territories and other areas	2	2	4	6	18	14	46

Table 2(b) gives the distribution of urban population of each State among the six urban classes. Maharashtra has the largest urban population and Jammu and Kashmir the smallest. Maharashtra also has the largest population in urban Class I, while West Bengal claims the largest population in Class II and Madras in Class III. In regard to smaller towns Madras claims the largest population in urban Classes IV and V and Punjab in VI.

In Table 3 we present three customary indices of urbanization namely, (a) per cent of total population residing in urban areas, (b) per cent of total population in towns with a population of 20 000 and over, and (c) per cent of total population in cities with a population of 100 000 and over. It will be seen that Maharashtra has the highest urban proportion (28.2 per cent) while Orissa has the lowest (6.3 per cent). In regard to the urban population in 20 000-plus towns also, Maharashtra takes the lead (23.3 per cent) while Orissa again comes last (3.4 per cent). This is true of the total population residing in 100 000-plus cities also. In Maharashtra 17.1 per cent of the population reside in cities while in Orissa less than 1 per cent do so.

TABLE 1(a).—URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA: 1961

<i>Class of town</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
I. 100,000 & over	107	35.13	44.50
II. 50,000 - 99,999	139	9.53	12.07
III. 20,000 - 49,999	518	15.75	19.95
IV. 10,000 - 19,999	820	11.30	14.32
V. 5,000 - 9,999	848	6.34	8.03
VI. Below 5,000	268	0.89	1.13
TOTAL URBAN	2,700	78.94	100.00

SOURCE: This and all subsequent tables in this chapter are based on data presented in *Census of India 1961*, Vol. I, Part II-A(i), *General Population Tables*.

TABLE 1(b).—TOWN GROUPS, CITIES AND TOWNS IN INDIA BY SIX URBAN CLASSES: 1961

<i>Class of town</i>	<i>Town groups</i>	<i>Cities/towns</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
I. 100,000 & over	48	65	113	38.18	48.37
II. 50,000 - 99,999	29	109	138	9.39	11.90
III. 20,000 - 49,999	40	444	484	14.63	18.53
IV. 10,000 - 19,999	10	738	748	10.29	13.03
V. 5,000 - 9,999	5	756	761	5.71	7.23
VI. Below 5,000	—	218	218	0.74	0.94
TOTAL	132	2,330	2,462	78.94	100.00

cities with a population of 20,000 and over) we find that they account for 76.5 per cent of India's urban population. And if the town groups are taken into account, 78.8 per cent of the total urban population resides in towns with 20,000 or more persons.

In Table 2(a) the distribution of towns in the six urban classes is presented for all the States of India. It will be seen that Madras has the largest number of towns while Jammu and Kashmir has the fewest. Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of Class I towns, West Bengal and Madras the largest number of Class II towns, and Madras the largest number of Class III towns. In regard to the smaller towns, we find that while Madras has the largest number of Class IV towns, Madhya Pradesh has the largest number of Class V towns and Punjab the largest number of Class VI towns.

TABLE 3—INDICES OF URBANIZATION INDIA AND STATES 1961

<i>States</i>	<i>Per cent of total pop in urban areas</i>	<i>Per cent of total pop in 20 000 + towns</i>	<i>Per cent of total pop in 100 000 + cities</i>
INDIA	17.97	13.75	8.00
Andhra Pradesh	17.44	12.99	7.07
Assam	7.69	4.40	0.85
Bihar	8.42	6.01	2.79
Gujarat	25.77	19.89	10.93
Jammu & Kashmir	16.66	11.49	10.90
Kerala	15.11	11.55	4.07
Madhya Pradesh	14.29	9.55	4.51
Madras	26.69	19.42	10.08
Maharashtra	28.22	23.33	17.07
Mysore	22.33	15.12	8.21
Orissa	6.32	3.41	0.83
Punjab	20.13	14.78	5.29
Rajasthan	16.28	10.67	6.16
Uttar Pradesh	12.85	10.47	6.48
West Bengal	24.45	21.38	13.57

Growth of Urban Population

We shall now discuss the growth of urban population during the last six decades. Table 4 gives the percentage variation in total rural and urban population separately for each of the six decades. In the 1901-11 decade the rate of growth of the rural population was much higher than that of the urban population while in the next decade (1911-21) there was an absolute decrease in the rural population and a modest increase in the urban population. In the 1921-31 decade the rural population increased by 10.0 per cent while the urban population increased by 19.1 per cent. The next decade (1931-41) witnessed a fairly rapid growth of urban population namely 32.0 per cent, while there was only a nominal increase in the rate of growth of the rural population. The decade 1941-51 witnessed the highest rate of urban growth namely 41.4 per

TABLE 4—PERCENTAGE (DECADE) VARIATION IN TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA 1901-1961

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1901-11	5.8	6.4	0.4
1911-21	-0.3	-1.3	8.3
1921-31	11.0	10.0	19.1
1931-41	14.2	11.8	32.0
1941-51	13.3	8.8	41.4
1951-61	21.5	20.6*	26.4*

*Unadjusted. The adjusted figures after taking note of definitional changes are 19.0 for rural population and 34.0 for urban population.

TABLE 2(b) — POPULATION OF SIX URBAN CLASSES: INDIA AND STATES: 1961

States	Urban classes						Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
INDIA	35,121,940	9,529,812	15,749,144	11,300,075	6,343,670	889,962	78,936,603
1. Andhra Pradesh	2,544,378	610,713	1,520,603	1,018,223	563,838	16,753	6,274,508
2. Assam	100,707	130,918	250,846	163,315	186,065	41,177	913,028
3. Bihar	1,297,545	494,430	1,002,013	731,049	358,847	30,036	3,913,920
4. Gujarat	2,255,532	561,173	1,286,400	716,530	460,545	36,444	5,316,624
5. Jammu & Kashmir	387,995	—	21,087	59,300	39,729	85,204	593,315
6. Kerala	688,423	378,257	885,898	472,292	126,412	2,859	2,554,141
7. Madhya Pradesh	1,460,230	491,380	1,138,835	785,211	685,761	65,817	4,627,234
8. Madras	3,394,541	1,272,589	1,874,234	1,624,376	714,812	109,976	8,990,528
9. Maharashtra	6,752,335	1,023,232	1,451,560	1,246,498	631,206	57,730	11,162,561
10. Mysore	1,936,154	673,812	956,215	1,096,334	473,440	130,318	5,266,493
11. Orissa	146,308	228,033	224,943	310,647	190,064	9,655	1,109,650
12. Punjab	1,071,673	772,071	1,154,652	535,211	401,185	151,803	4,088,595
13. Rajasthan	1,241,562	241,128	667,337	707,581	389,611	34,259	3,281,478
14. Uttar Pradesh	4,782,600	1,254,375	1,687,748	1,117,845	599,166	38,161	9,479,895
15. West Bengal	4,738,454	1,275,086	1,452,527	636,170	386,323	52,282	8,540,842
Union territories and other areas	2,323,303	122,595	134,246	79,493	136,666	27,488	2,823,791

In Table 6 we give figures for the percentage variation in the urban population by the six classes of towns for the last six decades. It will be seen that the highest rate of urban growth for Class I towns was in the decade 1931-41 (68.5 per cent), while that for Class II towns was in the last decade—1951-61 (39.3 per cent), and this was true of Class III towns also (40.1 per cent). The highest growth rates for Class IV, V and VI towns was during 1941-51. Due to definitional changes, there was an absolute decrease in the population of Class V and Class VI towns in 1961.

TABLE 6.—PERCENTAGE (DECADE) VARIATION OF URBAN POPULATION BY SIX CLASSES OF TOWNS 1901-1961

Decade	Urban classes					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1901-11	4.0	-2.2	4.9	-5.8	-2.8	10.9
1911-21	17.3	8.9	5.1	0.5	4.5	15.8
1921-31	25.1	28.6	29.5	18.5	7.7	-10.2
1931-41	68.5	24.6	29.0	12.5	17.8	-19.6
1941-51	65.1	31.6	34.8	22.8	21.5	33.8
1951-61	44.5	39.3	40.1	18.2	-30.0	-62.4

Table 7 shows the relative importance of each of the six classes of towns for the last seven census years. This table brings out the increasingly important role of the cities (population 100,000 and over). In 1901, these cities accounted for 22.9 per cent of the total urban population while in 1961 they accounted for 48.4 per cent of the total urban population.

TABLE 7.—PER CENT OF URBAN POPULATION IN EACH CLASS OF TOWN * 1901-61

Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
1901	22.9	11.8	16.5	22.1	20.4	6.3	100.0
1911	24.1	10.9	17.7	20.5	19.8	7.0	100.0
1921	25.4	12.4	16.9	18.9	19.0	7.4	100.0
1931	27.4	11.9	18.8	19.0	17.3	5.6	100.0
1941	35.4	11.8	17.7	16.3	15.4	3.4	100.0
1951	41.8	11.1	16.7	14.0	13.2	3.2	100.0
1961	48.4	11.9	18.5	13.0	7.2	1.0	100.0

*The data refer to town groups.

Table 8 gives the percentage variation in urban population in the different states of India for the last six decades. To interpret these figures one has to look into a mass of detailed statistics on each and every individual town which is beyond the scope of this chapter. To give just one example, we may point out that during 1951-61, the urban population of Assam increased by 122.5 per cent.

cent, while the rate of growth of the rural population decreased in this decade compared to the previous decade. The interesting thing about the last decade (1951-61) is that while the rate of increase in rural population shot up to 20.6 per cent compared to 8.8 per cent for the previous decade the rate of growth of the urban population came down to 26.4 per cent compared to 41.4 per cent for the previous decade. After making adjustments for definitional changes we find that if the same definition of "urban" were adopted in 1961 as was the case in 1951, the increase in the urban population during the last decade would be of the order of 34.0 per cent and that of the rural population of the order of 19 per cent. It may be pointed out that the abnormal influx of refugee migration was partly responsible for stepping up the rate of urban growth during the 1941-51 decade. According to our estimate,¹⁴ such migration accounted for 6.2 per cent of the urban growth, thus yielding a rate of roughly 35 per cent increase in the urban population during 1941-51 due to "normal" causes. Thus, the rate of growth of urban population during the last two decades has remained very much the same even after making adjustments for the abnormal refugee migration and the definitional changes in the 1961 census.

Table 5 gives the number of towns and the total urban population of India for each of the last seven census years. In 1901 there were 1,917 towns in India (as constituted today), in 1951 this figure shot up to 3,060 while in 1961, owing to the application of rigorous tests, the number came down to 2,700. In terms of population, we find that, during the last six decades, the urban population has more than trebled: it was roughly 26 million in 1901 and 79 million in 1961. It is interesting to note that during the forty years, 1901-41, the net increase in the urban population was 18.3 million while in a single decade, 1941-51, the net increase was 18.3 million. In the last decade, the net increase was 16.50 million and after adjustments for definitional changes, 21.23 million. To put it in another way, while the net increase in the urban population in the entire decade 1911-21 was 2.15 million, the average increase per year in the urban population during the 1951-61 decade was 2.12 million.

TABLE 5.—GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA: 1901-1961

Census year	No of towns	Total urban population (millions)	Increase in each decade (million)	Per cent increase (decade)
1901	1,917	25.85	—	—
1911	1,909	25.94	0.09	+0.35
1921	2,047	28.09	2.15	+8.29
1931	2,219	33.46	5.37	+19.12
1941	2,424	44.15	10.69	+31.95
1951	3,060	62.44	18.29	+41.43
1961	2,700	78.94	16.50*	+26.43*

*Unadjusted. The adjusted figure after taking note of definitional changes is 21.23 million, and the growth rate for 1951-61 is 34.01 per cent.

¹⁴ Ashish Bose, "The Process of Urbanization", Delhi University, Delhi, 1959, p. 381.

the number of Class V towns decreased from 1,195 in 1951 to 848 in 1961 and their total population declined by 25.5 per cent. During this period the number of Class VI towns decreased from 629 to 268 and their population declined by 57.3 per cent.

Effective Urban and Quasi Urban Population

In Table 10 we present the growth rates of the "effective urban" and "quasi-urban" population of India during the last six decades. By effective urban population we mean the population of towns belonging to Classes I, II and III (i.e. population of 20,000 and over) and by quasi urban population we mean the population of towns belonging to Classes IV, V and VI (i.e. population below 20,000). In this table we also give the figures for 1961 adjusted for definitional changes for both these categories of urban population. This table gives evidence of a definite slowing down of the tempo of urbanization during 1951-61 compared to the earlier decade, 1941-51. The effective urban population increased by 52.6 per cent during 1941-51 while it increased by 42.2 per cent during 1951-61. The quasi urban population increased by 22.4 per cent during 1941-51 while the adjusted growth rate for the 1951-61 decade came down to 16.4 per cent.

TABLE 10—GROWTH OF EFFECTIVE URBAN AND QUASI URBAN POPULATION
1901-1961

	<i>Effective urban population</i>	<i>Variation (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent variation (decade)</i>	<i>Quasi-urban population (millions)</i>	<i>Variation (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent variation (decade)</i>
1901	13.02	—	—	12.83	—	—
1911	13.49	0.47	3.61	12.45	-0.38	-2.96
1921	15.13	1.64	12.16	12.95	0.50	4.02
1931	18.93	3.80	25.12	14.52	1.57	12.12
1941	27.84	8.91	47.07	16.31	1.79	12.33
1951	42.47	14.63	52.55	19.97	3.66	22.44
1961	60.40	17.93	42.22	18.53	-1.44	-7.21
	60.43*	17.96*	42.29*	23.24*	3.27*	16.37*

*Adjusted for definitional changes in 1961, by hypothetically including in 1961 urban population the 1961 population of places which had enjoyed urban status in 1951 but lost it in 1961 owing to application of the new definition.

An interesting feature revealed by Table 10 is that the percentage increase of the quasi-urban population for the decades 1921-31 and 1931-41 was very much the same, namely, a little over 12 per cent, but there was a substantial rise in the rate of growth of the effective urban population during 1931-41 (47 per cent) compared to that in the earlier decade (25 per cent). The growth of the effective urban population really began after 1921 and this was true of the population of India as a whole also but the growth of the quasi urban population showed no signs of acceleration except in the 1941-51 decade.

TABLE 8.—PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN URBAN POPULATION IN INDIA, AND STATES: 1901-1961

State	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51	1951-61*
INDIA	0.4	8.3	19.1	32.0	41.4	26.4
1. Andhra Pradesh	17.7	1.0	23.2	36.1	47.9	15.8
2. Assam	22.9	35.4	30.8	30.5	66.6	122.5
3. Bihar	-1.7	8.2	22.0	33.7	38.1	49.0
4. Gujarat	-7.1	8.7	14.9	38.4	35.8	20.0
5. Jammu & Kashmir	69.1	-0.3	18.7	21.6	18.3	29.8
6. Kerala	15.4	29.8	34.6	30.5	52.7	39.9
7. Madhya Pradesh	-10.9	10.9	23.0	32.8	33.2	47.7
8. Madras	15.6	8.9	23.4	22.3	41.7	22.6
9. Maharashtra	1.0	18.7	15.5	27.1	62.4	21.3
10. Mysore	-4.6	17.7	21.6	23.0	61.7	18.3
11. Orissa	8.0	2.3	12.7	30.0	44.0	86.7
12. Punjab	-16.5	7.2	27.1	36.1	27.0	33.3
13. Rajasthan	-4.8	-0.03	17.2	22.4	39.6	11.0
14. Uttar Pradesh	-9.0	0.6	12.8	26.0	22.9	9.9
15. West Bengal	13.7	7.2	15.0	63.7	32.5	36.0

*Unadjusted for definitional changes in the 1961 census.

Note: This table excludes the Union Territories and other areas.

while that of Uttar Pradesh by only 9.9 per cent. A detailed examination of data on individual towns reveals that in Assam the new towns of 1961 accounted for 31.1 per cent of the total urban population of that state while in U.P. the comparable figure was only 0.7 per cent. And taking note of the towns deleted from the list of urban areas in 1961, we find that in Orissa the population of such towns accounted for only 1.2 per cent of the total urban population in that state while the comparable figure for U.P. was 13.3 per cent.

Let us now look into the figures for the 1951-61 decade in somewhat greater detail. This is done in Tables 9 and 10. It will be observed that during 1951-61,

TABLE 9.—SIX CLASSES OF URBAN POPULATION: 1951 AND 1961

	No. of towns		Variation 1951-1961	Urban population		Per cent variation 1951-61
	1951	1961		1951 (Thousands)	1961	
I. 100,000 +	76	107	+31	23,730	35,124	+48.0
II. 50,000 - 99,999	111	139	+28	7,625	9,530	+25.0
III. 20,000 - 49,999	374	518	+144	11,115	15,749	+41.7
IV. 10,000 - 19,999	675	820	+145	9,379	11,300	+20.5
V. 5,000 - 9,999	1,195	848	-347	8,510	6,344	-25.5
VI. Below 5,000	629	268	-361	2,085	890	-57.3
TOTAL	3,060	2,700	-360	62,444	78,937	+26.4

the last decade alone was roughly equivalent to the total population of Yugoslavia

Need for Long Term Studies of Urbanization

We have given a brief statistical outline of the growth of urban population in India during the last six decades without going into the more technical aspects of demographic analysis. We have also given a few examples from old census reports of the speculations on the causes of urbanization in India. We pointed out that there has been no attempt so far to study in a comprehensive manner the role of urbanization in the process of economic growth and social change. It is unfortunate that no economic historian ventured to undertake such a study, being deterred perhaps by the known limitations of data, and it is equally unfortunate that economists and sociologists, by and large, have got stuck with the so-called socio-economic surveys of cities and towns which are mostly data oriented and not problem oriented. It is our plea, therefore, that a comprehensive and systematic study of the process of urbanization be taken up by an inter disciplinary team of historians, geographers, demographers, economists and sociologists. Most current generalizations regarding urbanization are based on the experience of Western countries in a century which was characterized by low rates of population growth. The political, economic and demographic situation in the developing countries of the world today has very little in common with that in the developed countries in their pre-industrial phases. *An intensive study of the Indian experience will have the additional advantage of a better understanding of the problems of countries in other parts of the world, and particularly in Asia, which have much more in common with India of the twentieth century than Europe of the nineteenth.*

Finally, we would like to raise two sets of questions. (1) why has the rate of urbanization slowed down in the last decade, a decade marked by rapid industrialization? Is it because industrialization has not been fast enough and has failed to keep pace with the rise in population? Is it that, as a result of our planning efforts, the economic situation in the rural areas has improved and this has lessened the volume of rural to-urban migration? Or is it because the large increase in the labour force in the urban areas and the growing unemployment in the urban areas are warding off the potential streams of migration from the rural areas? Is it that the big cities have reached a saturation point and just cannot hold any more people? Or does the slower tempo of urbanization indicate the success of the Government's professed objective of dispersal of industries and balanced regional development? Or is the lower tempo of urbanization just a statistical phenomenon which exists only in the minds of demographers and not in reality? (2) The other set of questions is: Why are the small towns (population below 20 000) growing so slowly? Is it because there is a lot of migration from these towns to the bigger towns and cities? Or is it because of the inability of these towns to sustain themselves from the economic point of view which again may be due to historical forces like the ruin of traditional industries or the absence of adequate economic and social

(which was considerably affected by abnormal migration of refugees from Pakistan). The slow growth of population of small towns is a phenomenon which must be taken note of while discussing the process of urbanization.

Demographers usually draw a distinction between the rate of urban growth and the rate of urbanization. The former indicates the per cent increase (or decrease) in the urban population in a given decade or in a particular year while the latter signifies the per cent increase (or decrease) in the proportion of the urban population to the total population during a given decade or during a given period. Theoretically, there can be urban growth without urbanization. In other words, if both the rural and the urban populations grow at the same rate (say, because there is no rural-urban migration at all and the rate of natural increase in population is the same both in the rural and urban areas), there will be growth of urban population but not urbanization inasmuch as the proportions of the urban population to the total population will remain constant in spite of the growth of urban population.

In Table 11 we present data on the rate of urbanization. In 1901, the total urban population was about 11 per cent of the total population. In 1961, the proportion went up to 18 per cent. The rate of urbanization was maximum in the 1941-51 decade. The figures presented in the table should be interpreted with caution. It will be incorrect, for example, to deduce from the figures for the urban proportion in 1951 and 1961, namely 17.3 per cent and 18.0 per cent, that there was a virtual stagnation in urban growth. On the contrary, during the 1951-61 decade alone, the net increase in urban population was of the order of 16.5 million while the adjusted figure (taking note of definitional changes) was 21.2 million. It may be mentioned in passing that the total population of Yugoslavia in 1961 was 18.6 million.

Thus, in spite of the low proportion of urban population in the total population of India (namely, 18 per cent) and the small rate of change in the proportion during 1951-61, the fact remains that India's urban population (about 80 million) far exceeds the total population of any country in Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.) and the net gain in the urban population of India during

TABLE 11.—RATE OF URBANIZATION: 1901-1961

Decade	Per cent of total population in urban areas	Variation in per cent urban	Per cent variation in per cent urban
1901	10.84	—	—
1911	10.29	-0.55	-5.07
1921	11.17	+0.88	+8.55
1931	11.99	+0.82	+7.34
1941	13.85	+1.86	+15.51
1951	17.29	+3.44	+24.84
1961	17.97	+0.68	+3.93
	19.05*	+1.76*	+10.18*

*Adjusted for definitional changes, assuming the same definition of "town" in 1961 as in 1951.

CHAPTER FIVE

PATTERNS OF URBAN GROWTH, 1951-61

IN THIS CHAPTER we shall discuss in some detail the growth of urban population in India during the 1951-61 decade. Earlier we discussed briefly the impact on urban growth of the new definition of "town" adopted in the 1961 census. Here we will present data for different States in India in respect of the number of towns and the rate of urban growth. The over all picture for India for the 1951-61 decade is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—TOWNS IN 1951 AND 1961

<i>Population-size</i>	1951		1961	
	<i>Number of towns</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>	<i>Number of towns</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>
100 000 and over	76	23.73	107	35.13
50 000-99 999	111	7.62	139	9.53
20 000-49 999	374	11.11	518	15.75
10 000-19 999	675	9.38	820	11.30
5 000-9,999	1 195	8.51	848	6.34
Below 5 000	629	2.09	268	0.89
TOTAL	3 060	62.44	2,700	78.94

SOURCE: This and the subsequent tables in this chapter are based on *Census of India 1961* Vol. I Part II—A(i) *General Population Tables*.

A detailed picture of the redistribution of towns into six urban classes can be obtained from Table 2.

It will be seen that between 1951 and 1961, there was a reduction in the number of towns in urban classes V and VI. The total number of class V towns decreased from 1,195 in 1951 to 848 in 1961, while that of class VI towns decreased from 629 to 268 during this period. Here again there are interesting inter State variations. In Maharashtra, the number of class V towns decreased by 103 while in West Bengal the number of such towns increased by 32. Turning

overheads required by modern industries? Or is the stagnation of small towns basically a statistical phenomenon arising out of definitional and other changes in the census or the impact of reclassification of towns or the upgrading of small towns into higher urban classes with the passage of time? These and many other related questions have to be answered before we can comment with confidence on the process of urbanization in India.

to class VI towns, we find that in Uttar Pradesh the number of such towns decreased from 158 in 1951 to only 16 in 1961, while in West Bengal there was an increase of one town in this class during this period

Thus, the major impact of the new definition of "town" adopted in the 1961 census was the weeding out of a large number of small towns (with populations below 10,000) of 1951

In Table 3, we present the variation in the urban population between 1951 and 1961 without making any adjustments for definitional changes. It will be observed that the urban population of India increased by 16.5 million during this period, indicating a growth rate of 26.4 per cent for the decade. The growth rate varied from 9.9 per cent in Uttar Pradesh to 121.9 per cent in Assam. The growth rate in West Bengal (which was not affected by definitional changes) was of the order of 36.0 per cent which is roughly the adjusted urban growth rate for the country as a whole.

TABLE 3—URBAN POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 1951 AND 1961
(Pop. in millions)

	1951	1961	Variation in pop	Per cent variation
INDIA	62.44	78.94	16.50	26.43
Andhra Pradesh	5.42	6.27	0.85	15.68
Assam	0.41	0.91	0.50	121.95
Bihar	2.63	3.91	1.28	48.67
Gujarat	4.43	5.32	0.89	20.09
Jammu & Kashmir	0.46	0.59	0.13	28.26
Kerala	1.83	2.55	0.72	39.34
Madhya Pradesh	3.13	4.63	1.50	47.92
Madras	7.33	8.99	1.66	22.65
Maharashtra	9.20	11.16	1.96	21.30
Mysore	4.45	5.27	0.82	18.43
Orissa	0.59	1.11	0.52	88.14
Punjab	3.07	4.09	1.02	33.22
Rajasthan	2.96	3.28	0.32	10.81
Uttar Pradesh	8.63	9.43	0.85	9.85
W. Bengal	6.28	8.54	2.26	35.99
Union Territories and other areas	1.61	2.82	1.21	75.16

TABLE 2.—NUMBER OF TOWNS IN 1951 AND 1961 ACCORDING TO SIX URBAN CLASSES

	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		Total	
	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
INDIA	76	107	111	139	374	518	675	820	1195	848	629	268	3060	2700
Andhra Pradesh	7	11	9	9	34	51	82	73	116	72	43	7	293	223
Assam	—	1	1	2	6	10	7	12	5	24	8	11	27	60
Bihar	5	7	6	7	19	33	37	52	30	46	11	8	108	153
Gujarat	6	6	4	9	35	43	42	54	124	60	32	9	243	181
Jammu & Kashmir	1	2	1	—	—	1	3	4	7	6	13	30	25	43
Kerala	3	4	5	5	12	31	29	33	27	18	18	1	94	92
Madhya Pradesh	5	6	5	6	22	35	37	57	74	98	59	17	202	219
Madras	7	9	11	19	56	61	99	119	97	95	27	36	297	339
Maharashtra	5	12	16	15	39	47	84	89	196	88	43	15	383	266
Mysore	6	6	7	9	20	34	59	81	137	64	60	37	289	231
Orissa	1	1	1	3	5	8	8	22	23	25	1	3	39	62
Punjab	3	5	8	12	26	35	34	40	57	54	66	43	194	189
Rajasthan	4	6	4	4	20	23	36	52	96	51	67	9	227	145
Uttar Pradesh	14	17	15	18	47	56	73	81	179	79	158	16	486	267
West Bengal	7	12	14	19	29	46	41	45	18	50	11	12	120	184
Union Territories and other areas	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	6	9	18	12	14	33	46

NOTE: Class of towns: I, 100,000 and over

II, 50,000-99,999

III, 20,000-49,999

IV, 10,000-19,999

V, 5,000-9,999

VI, Below 5,000

Table 4 gives detailed data on urban population by the six classes of towns. It will be seen that the total population of class V towns decreased from 8.5 million in 1951 to 6.3 million in 1961 and of class VI towns from 2.1 million in 1951 to only 890 thousand in 1961.

Gamut of Growth Rates

Table 5 is based on our analysis of growth rate of every individual city and town in India (in this table town groups are considered) for the 1951-61 decade. There were 2,097 town groups and towns which were common to both the 1951 and the 1961 censuses. The whole gamut of urban growth (including negative values indicating a net decrease in population) is brought out by this table. The towns may be broadly grouped as follows in terms of decrease and increase of population.

	<i>Number of town groups & towns</i>	<i>Per cent of urban pop. in 1961</i>
A. Decrease in population	135	2.1
B. Decade growth rate below 50%	1,684	76.4
C. Decade growth rate over 50%	278	16.8
D. New towns of 1961	365	4.7
	2,462	100.0

NOTE: There were 2,700 towns in 1961 but the number of town groups and towns was 2,462. Hence the difference between this figure and the one given in Table 1.

It will be recalled that the growth rate for the *total* population of India for the 1951-61 decade was 21.5 per cent. If the rate of natural increase in population is taken as roughly 20 per cent for the decade both in the rural and the urban areas of India, we get the following picture of urban growth.

	<i>Number of towns</i>	<i>Per cent of urban pop. in 1961</i>
I. Decade growth rate below 20%	939	30.5
II. Decade growth rate over 20%	1,158	64.8
III. New towns of 1961	365	4.7
	2,462	100.0

TABLE 4.—URBAN POPULATION IN 1951 AND 1961 ACCORDING TO SIX CLASSES OF TOWNS
(Pop. in thousands)

States		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
INDIA	1951	23,730	7,625	11,115	9,379	8,510	2,085	62,444
	1961	35,124	9,530	15,749	11,300	6,344	890	78,937
Andhra Pradesh	1951	1,655	755	907	1,113	847	143	5,420
	1961	2,544	611	1,520	1,018	564	17	6,274
Assam	1951	—	54	188	102	36	30	410
	1961	101	131	291	163	186	41	913
Bihar	1951	857	424	564	516	223	42	2,626
	1961	1,298	495	1,002	731	358	30	3,914
Gujarat	1951	1,597	247	1,018	577	862	127	4,428
	1961	2,256	561	1,286	717	460	37	5,317
Jammu & Kashmir	1951	247	77	—	48	47	38	457
	1961	388	—	21	59	40	85	593
Kerala	1951	462	341	356	418	186	63	1,826
	1961	688	378	886	472	127	3	2,554
Madhya Pradesh	1951	988	342	617	513	516	157	3,133
	1961	1,460	491	1,139	785	686	66	4,627
Madras	1951	2,604	804	1,714	1,364	747	101	7,334
	1961	3,395	1,273	1,874	1,624	715	110	8,991
Maharashtra	1951	4,183	1,090	1,200	1,177	1,385	166	9,201
	1961	6,752	1,023	1,452	1,247	631	58	11,163
Mysore	1951	1,429	539	547	819	949	171	4,454
	1961	1,936	674	956	1,096	474	130	5,266
Orissa	1951	103	62	138	108	178	5	594
	1961	146	228	225	311	190	10	1,110
Punjab	1951	648	537	773	482	422	204	3,066
	1961	1,074	772	1,155	535	401	152	4,089
Rajasthan	1951	785	264	565	471	642	228	2,955
	1961	1,241	241	667	708	390	34	3,281
Uttar Pradesh	1951	3,371	1,040	1,399	1,013	1,267	536	8,626
	1961	4,783	1,254	1,688	1,118	599	38	9,480
West Bengal	1951	3,610	907	983	603	137	42	6,282
	1961	4,739	1,275	1,453	636	386	52	8,541
Union Territories and other areas	1951	1,191	142	146	55	66	32	1,632
	1961	2,323	123	134	80	137	27	2,824

TABLE 5 (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	78		
50-60	4 048 684	5 13	31 7
	39		
60-70	4 325 641	5 48	15 8
	39		
70-80	1 162,788	1.47	15 8
	24		
80-90	817,182	1 03	9 8
	15		
90-100	225 831	0.29	6 1
	83		
100+	2,715,238	3 44	33 7
	278		
	13 295 364	16 84	112.9
Towns common to 1951 and 1961	2,097 75,270 695	95 35	851 7
	365		
New Towns in 1961	3 665 908	4 65	148.3
GRAND TOTAL	2,462 78,936 603	100 00	1000 0

NOTE The upper figure indicates the number of towns, the lower one indicates the total population of these towns. *Town groups and not the constituent towns have been considered in this table*

Thus a little over 30 per cent of the urban population of India in 1961 was in towns with barely the same growth rate as the rate of natural increase in population

"Declining" Towns

An interesting aspect of urbanization revealed by our analysis is the phenomenon of "declining" towns by which we mean towns which recorded a net decrease in population during 1951-61. This may not be a persistent trend over several decades but there are some towns for which we have observed such a

TABLE 5.—PATTERNS OF URBAN GROWTH: 1951-61

<i>Growth Rate 1951-61 per cent</i>	<i>Number of towns and population</i>	<i>Per cent of urban pop. 1961</i>	<i>Proportion of towns per 1,000</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(negative)	2		
-60-70	9,076	0.01	0.8
	1		
-50-60	10,782	0.01	0.4
	5		
-40-50	43,501	0.06	2.0
	7		
-30-40	56,025	0.07	2.8
	12		
-20-30	75,887	0.10	4.9
	16		
-10-20	183,002	0.23	6.5
	92		
0-(-10)	1,284,113	1.63	37.4
	135		
	1,662,386	2.11	54.8
	291		
0-10	7,909,623	10.02	118.2
	513		
10-20	14,542,742	18.42	208.4
	466		
20-30	16,129,333	20.43	189.3
	276		
30-40	15,619,808	19.79	112.1
	138		
40-50	6,111,439	7.74	56.0
	1,684		
	60,312,945	76.40	684.0

(Contd.)

30-40	10 777 314 14	962 359 10	2 112 735 44	13 852 408 68	1 188 715 37	519 520 26	59 165 7	1 767 400 70	15 619 808 138
45-50	1 256 457	699 959	1 400 510	5 356 926	528 166	206 817	19 530	754 513	6 111 439
B SUB-TOTAL	30 503 961	7 128 749	11 003 438	48 636 148	7 631 122	3 686 560	339 115	11 676 797	60 312 945
50-60	2 469 591 6	465 895 7	669 254 11	3 604 740 23	343 519 10	66 988 6	33 437 9	443 944 42	4 048 684 78
60-70	3 531 641 3	288 445 5	323 617 9	4 143 703 17	141 455 11	40 483 8	— 3	181 938 22	4 325 641 39
70-80	390 467 2	296 331 2	255 253 11	942 051 15	180 951 5	61 722 4	8 064 —	220 737 9	1 162 788 24
80-90	231 629	144 727	344 058	720 414	65 278	31 490	—	96 768	817 182
90-100	— 6	— 8	136 429 23	136 429 37	58 979 28	25 807 13	2 5	10 46	15 83
100 +	909 807	559 461	716 015	2 185 283	412 154	101 854	15 947	529 955	2 715 238
C SUB-TOTAL	7 533 135	1 754 859	2 444 626	11 732 620	1 172 336	328 344	62 064	1 562 744	13 295 364
D NEW TOWNS	38 183 907	8 934 908	13 887 122	61 005 937	9 348 858	4 416 268	499 632	14 264 758	75 270 695
ALL TOWNS	— 113	6 138	25 484	31 735	73 748	183 761	78 218	334 1 727	365 2 462

NOTE: The upper figure indicates the number of towns and town groups; the lower one indicates the total population of these towns and town groups.

TABLE 6.—PATTERNS OF URBAN GROWTH BY SIX URBAN CLASSES: 1951-61

Growth Rate 1951-61	20,000 + towns			I-III			<20,000 + towns			IV-VI		Total I-VI
	I	II	III	Sub-total			IV	V	VI	Sub-total		
(negative)												
-60-70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2,754	2	2
							1	6,322		9,076	1	9,076
-50-60	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,782	—	—	10,782	5	10,782
							2	2	1			5
-40-50	—	—	—	—	—	—	29,256	13,804	441	43,501	7	43,501
							7					7
-30-40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56,025	—	56,025	12	56,025
							3	4	5	12		12
-20-30	—	—	—	—	—	—	35,325	23,477	17,085	75,887	14	75,887
							6	3	5			16
-10-20	—	—	—	62,487	62,487	77,018	24,694	18,803	120,515	183,002	92	183,002
				14	16	28	36		12	76		92
0-(-10)	146,811	51,300	376,571	574,682	393,019	277,042	39,370	709,431	1,284,113			
A. Sub-TOTAL	1	1	16	18	40	53	24	117	135	1,025,217		1,662,386
	146,811	51,300	439,038	637,169	545,400	401,364	78,453					
0-10	3,620,532	905,308	1,047,545	5,573,385	1,494,486	741,213	100,539	2,336,238	7,909,623			
	21	35	100	156	174	158	25	357	513			
10-20	5,366,779	2,390,355	3,085,083	10,842,217	2,381,287	1,221,510	97,728	3,700,525	14,542,742			
	26	32	110	168	147	128	23	298	466			
20-30	7,482,879	2,170,768	3,357,565	13,011,212	2,038,468	997,500	82,153	3,118,121	16,129,333			
	22	14	72	107	84	69	16	169	276			

It will be noted from Table 8 that the class of small towns (population below 20,000) had a *major share of declining towns*. These accounted for 75.2 per cent of the total number of declining towns and 53.1 per cent of the total population of such towns.

Declassified Towns

The new definition adopted in the 1961 census was responsible for the declassification of 803 towns with a total population of 4.4 million. Except one town in Maharashtra (which belonged to urban class III) all these towns had a population below 20,000 (urban classes IV to VI). Fifty-four towns were merged with other cities and towns and, as a result, they lost their identity in 1961 (Table 9).

It may be noted that most of the declassified towns had a high proportion of workers engaged in agricultural activities, which militates against the concept of "urban".

New Towns

There were as many as 497 places which were labelled "towns" for the first time in 1961 (Table 10). Their aggregate population was 4.8 million. Of these, 36 had a population of 20,000 or more. The rest were in urban classes IV-VI (population below 20,000). West Bengal had the largest share of new towns, 66 with a population of 715 thousand while Rajasthan's share was the smallest, 3 with a population of 13 thousand.

Rapidly Growing Towns

There were 278 towns in India (excluding Jammu and Kashmir where no census was taken in 1951) which recorded an increase of 50 per cent or over in their population during the decade 1951-61 (Table 11). Their total population amounted to 13.3 million. West Bengal had the largest number of such towns, 37 in all, accounting for a population of 1.9 million while Orissa had the smallest number of such towns, 8 in all, accounting for a total population of 175 thousand.

In Table 12 a more detailed classification of the rapidly growing towns is presented, but in this table we take note only of those towns which recorded a growth rate of over 100 per cent during 1951-61. There were 85 such towns with a total population of 2.8 million. Of these, 40 with a total population of 2.3 million belonged to urban classes I-III (population over 20,000). This table reveals that Punjab and not West Bengal claimed the largest number of such towns, 14 in all compared to West Bengal's 13, but in terms of population, West Bengal retained the lead, 551 thousand compared to 289 thousand in Punjab. The lowest number of such towns was in Mysore, 2 with a population of 23 thousand. The Union Territory of Manipur claimed one town—Imphal—where the population shot up from 2,862 in 1951 to 67,717 in 1961.

trend throughout the period 1901-61. However, in this chapter we have confined our analysis to the 1951-61 decade.

The slow tempo of urbanization is an unexpected phenomenon considering the general anticipation regarding a tremendous upsurge in the urban population of India prior to the 1961 census. One gets a clue to the understanding of this phenomenon from Table 6 which gives the detailed figures for the six urban classes. It will be observed that the majority of "declining" towns belong to urban classes IV to VI (population below 20,000). The role of declining towns is further elaborated in Tables 7 and 8.

TABLE 7.—DECLINING TOWNS IN 1961

<i>States</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>Pop. in 1961 (in thousands)</i>
INDIA	153	1,876
Andhra Pradesh	17	182
Assam	1	4
Bihar	6	94
Gujarat	16	172
Jammu & Kashmir	4	10
Kerala	4	57
Madhya Pradesh	4	33
Madras	34	369
Maharashtra	10	111
Mysore	9	230
Orissa	3	18
Punjab	20	233
Rajasthan	8	142
Uttar Pradesh	9	122
West Bengal	4	62
Union Territories: Goa, Daman & Diu	4	37

NOTE: For our purpose, a declining town is one which recorded an absolute decrease in population between 1951 and 1961.

Table 7 gives the statewise figures and Table 8 detailed figures for the six urban classes. Madras has the largest number of declining towns, 34 with a total population of 369 thousand. But the Madras case is not exceptional. As a matter of fact, there was no State in India where there were no declining towns.

				1	4	2	3	10
Maharashtra	—	—	—	21,039	59,351	16,166	14,229	110,785
	1	1	1	—	1	4	1	9
Mysore	146 811	7,030	24,495	—	17,689	31,395	2,781	239,201
	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—	15,255	2,754	18,009
	—	1	—	1	5	7	5	20
Punjab	—	51,300	—	42,597	60,887	51,381	15,277	232,653
	—	—	—	4	2	1	1	8
Rajasthan	—	—	—	100,934	32,623	5,765	3,137	142,459
	4	1	1	—	1	—	2	9
Uttar Pradesh	—	98,651	4,579	—	15,264	598	2,846	121,238
	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	4
West Bengal	—	—	8,492	35,489	12,382	6,032	—	62,395
Union Territories:					1	2	1	4
Goa, Daman & Diu	—	—	—	—	15,364	17,393	4,138	36,897

NOTE 1. The upper figure in each cell represents the number of towns and the lower figure the total population in 1961.

2. 'a' refers to individual census towns listed under town groups

3. This table excludes New Delhi and Delhi Cantonment which recorded a decrease in population during 1951-61 (mostly on account of adjustment of boundaries). New Delhi had a population of 261,545 in 1961 and 276,314 in 1951. Delhi Cantonment had a population of 36,105 in 1961 and 40,950 in 1951.

TABLE 8.—TOWNS SHOWING A DECREASE IN POPULATION BETWEEN 1951 AND 1961 BY STATES AND SIX URBAN CLASSES

States	I	Ia	II	IIa	III	IIIa	IV	IVa	V	VI	Total
INDIA	1	8	1	7	16	1	38	4	53	24	153
	146,811	112,628	51,300	93,292	439,058	11,211	523,828	18,358	401,364	78,453	1,876,303
Andhra Pradesh	—	1	—	—	2	—	4	—	10	—	17
	—	182	—	—	41,445	—	59,398	—	80,969	—	181,994
Assam	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,939	3,939
Bihar	—	—	—	3	1	—	1	—	1	—	6
	—	—	—	49,949	20,502	—	14,090	—	9,392	—	93,933
	2	—	—	—	2	—	4	—	6	2	16
Gujarat	—	6,765	—	—	62,092	—	50,082	—	44,427	9,113	172,479
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	4
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,519	5,066	10,585
	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	4
Kerala	—	—	—	—	22,977	—	28,138	—	5,606	—	56,721
	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	4
Madhya Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,117	—	22,498	—	32,615
	—	—	—	1	3	—	11	3	12	4	34
Madras	—	—	—	5,777	91,983	—	148,443	17,760	89,564	15,173	368,700

TABLE 10.—New Towns of 1961*
(Pop in thousands)

States	Total		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	No	Pop	No	Pop	No	Pop	No	Pop	No	Pop	No	Pop
Andhra Pradesh	10	139	1	55	1	29	1	10	6	41	1	4
Assam	34	234	—	—	1	31	6	80	19	144	8	29
Bihar	51	555	—	—	3	102	18	244	25	189	5	20
Gujarat	17	146	—	—	—	—	6	70	8	63	3	13
Jammu & Kashmir	18	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	47
Kerala	35	479	—	—	8	215	12	162	14	100	1	3
Madhya Pradesh	71	573	1	86	2	44	9	116	46	291	13	55
Madras	73	615	1	80	2	46	15	200	30	221	25	67
Maharashtra	23	163	—	—	—	—	4	58	18	104	1	2
Mysore	30	320	—	—	4	148	6	77	11	76	9	20
Orissa	23	302	1	90	—	—	9	125	11	80	2	7
Punjab	15	221	1	89	2	55	1	17	6	44	5	16
Rajasthan	3	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	2	8
Uttar Pradesh	8	47	—	—	—	—	1	12	4	20	3	6
West Bengal	66	715	—	—	6	177	17	228	35	273	8	36
Union Territories	20	168	—	—	2	63	2	25	9	70	7	11
INDIA	497	4,807	5	401	31	910	107	1,422	243	1,730	111	344

*The discrepancy between the total number and the aggregate population of new towns as given in Tables 5 and 6 and Table 11 is due to the fact that in Tables 5 and 6 town groups were considered while calculating the growth rates while for Table 11 towns have been considered

TABLE 9.—DECLASSIFIED TOWNS IN 1961
(Pop. in thousands)

States	No.	Total Pop.	Class III		Class IV		Class V		Class VI		No. of towns merged
			No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	
Andhra Pradesh	74	497	—	—	12	139	35	250	27	108	6*
Assam	1	5	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	—
Bihar	5	33	—	—	1	13	2	12	2	9	1
Gujarat	74	429	—	—	3	35	48	306	23	87	5
Kerala	36	235	—	—	7	93	14	93	15	49	1
Madhya Pradesh	49	127	—	—	—	—	2	10	47	117	5
Madras	30	203	—	—	3	47	15	113	12	42	1
Maharashtra	128	862	1	20	6	73	105	709	16	60	12
Mysore	85	429	—	—	1	12	60	372	24	45	3
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	15	58	—	—	—	—	6	38	9	20	5
Rajasthan	84	362	—	—	—	—	34	200	50	162	1
Uttar Pradesh	222	1,147	—	—	9	118	85	591	128	438	5
West Bengal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Union Territories	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
INDIA	803	4,386	1	20	42	530	407	2,698	353	1,138	54

*An adjustment regarding the number of merged towns in Andhra Pradesh has been made by us in view of the somewhat different set of figures given in the all-India volume and the State volume.

TABLE 12.—TOWNS WITH POPULATION GROWTH RATES OF 100 PER CENT AND OVER DURING 1951-61

States	Urban Classes						Total
	I (1)	II (2)	III (3)	IV (4)	V (5)	VI (6)	
Andhra Pradesh	—	—	—	2 57,690	3 45,612	—	5 103,302
Assam	1 100,707	—	—	1 28,468	1 14,237	4 33,100	7 176,532
Bihar	1 200,618	1 69,562	1 81,733	3 81,733	2 33,970	1 9,033	8 394,916
Gujarat	—	—	—	2 46,901	1 12,970	—	3 59,871
Kerala	—	—	—	4 142,534	4 71,795	—	8 214,329
Madhya Pradesh	2 356,178	1 86,706	1 27,476	1 27,476	2 22,379	1 7,189	7 499,928
Madras	—	1 57,748	1 24,757	1 24,757	1 10,899	—	3 93,404
Maharashtra	1 121,408	—	—	1 40,902	1 18,407	1 9,707	4 190,424

(Contd.)

TABLE 11.—RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN 1961 (DECADE GROWTH RATE OF OVER 50 PER CENT DURING 1951-61)

<i>States</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>Population (in thousands)</i>
INDIA	278	13,295
Andhra Pradesh	19	659
Assam	15	446
Bihar	24	1,051
Gujarat	10	170
Kerala	17	1,177
Madhya Pradesh	29	1,071
Madras	14	524
Maharashtra	16	615
Mysore	17	1,471
Orissa	8	175
Punjab	32	902
Rajasthan	16	348
Uttar Pradesh	16	325
West Bengal	37	1,895
Union Territories and other areas	8	2,466

Summary Statement

In Table 13 we summarize the inter-State variations in urban growth rates. The main conclusions are as follows:

(1) The unadjusted rate of growth of the urban population of India for the decade 1951-61 was 26.4 per cent but there was a wide variation in the State growth rates: from 9.9 per cent in Uttar Pradesh to 122.5 per cent in Assam. Treating 21.5 per cent (the rate of growth of the *total* population of India during 1951-61) as the dividing line we get the following two categories of States:

A. Growth Rate over 21.5%

Assam, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab and Madras.

B. Growth Rate below 21.5%

Maharashtra, Gujarat, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

(2) In view of definitional changes, one is on a firmer ground when one considers towns and cities with a population of 20,000 and over, referred to by us as "effective urban population". The rate of growth of the effective urban population is a better index of urbanization than the rate of growth of the total urban population. For India as a whole, the growth rate for the effective urban population was 42.2 per cent during 1951-61, which is quite high. *This should correct the impression of slow urbanization given by the overall rate of urban growth of 26.4 per cent.* Here again, the inter-State variations are considerable. The rate varies from 33.0 per cent in Uttar Pradesh to 116.3 per cent

TABLE 13 — INDICES OF URBAN GROWTH, 1951-61

States	Per cent increase in				Per cent variation in urban population 1951-61	Population of new towns as per cent of total urban population in 1961		Population of declining towns as per cent of total urban population in 1961		Population of declining towns as per cent of total urban population in 1951
	Total urban population	Effective urban population (20,000+ towns)	I 100,000+ towns	II 50,000-99,999	III 20,000-49,999	IV-VI less than 19,999	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Assam	122.5	116.3	Nil	143.5	54.8	131.5	65.4	31.1	0.4	1.2
Orissa	86.8	97.8	42.7	265.8	62.9	75.3	55.7	27.2	1.6	—
Bihar	49.0	51.4	51.5	16.5	77.7	43.4	24.5	14.2	2.7	1.3
Madhya Pradesh	47.7	58.7	47.8	43.8	84.5	29.6	18.8	12.8	0.7	4.1
Kerala	39.9	68.4	49.0	10.8	148.7	-9.7	12.1	18.8	2.2	12.9
West Bengal	36.0	35.7	31.3	40.5	47.8	37.5	2.4	8.4	0.7	—
Punjab	33.3	53.2	65.6	43.7	49.4	-1.8	5.9	5.4	5.9	1.9
Madras	22.6	27.7	30.4	58.2	9.4	10.7	9.6	6.8	4.3	2.8
Maharashtra	21.3	42.6	61.4	6.1	21.0	-29.1	-1.8	1.5	1.0	9.4
Gujarat	20.1	43.3	41.2	127.3	26.4	-22.5	-5.4	2.7	3.2	9.7
Mysore	18.3	41.8	35.5	25.1	74.7	-12.3	-2.7	6.1	4.4	9.6
Andhra Pradesh	15.8	41.0	53.7	-19.1	67.6	-24.0	0.1	2.2	2.9	9.2
Rajasthan	11.0	33.2	58.0	-8.5	18.2	-15.6	-12.0	0.4	4.3	12.3
Uttar Pradesh	9.9	33.0	41.9	20.7	20.6	-37.7	-5.8	0.5	1.3	13.3
INDIA	26.4	42.2	48.0	25.0	41.7	-7.2	3.9	6.1	2.4	7.0

NOTE: The States are ranked in order of the urban growth rates during 1951-61

TABLE 12. (contd.)—TOWNS WITH POPULATION GROWTH RATES OF 100 PER CENT AND OVER DURING 1951-61

States	Urban Classes						Total ¹
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Mysore	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
				22,730			22,730
Orissa	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
			78,813				78,813
Punjab	—	2	2	4	4	2	14
		130,667	65,731	57,939	28,365	6,682	928,384
Rajasthan	—	—	—	2	1	—	3
				29,181	8,112		37,293
Uttar Pradesh	—	—	—	2	—	2	4
				25,759		5,871	31,630
West Bengal	1	3	5	3	—	1	13
	130,896	193,391	177,206	46,256		3,394	551,143
Union Territories (Manipur)	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
		67,717					67,717
INDIA*	6	9	25	28	12	5	85
	909,807	605,791	772,211	412,154	95,506	15,947	2,811,416

*Excluding Jammu and Kashmir.

Note: The upper figure indicates the number of towns, the lower one the total population of these towns.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STAGNATION OF SMALL TOWNS

THE CASE FOR the study of small towns has been ably put by Ruth Glass

The perennial fear of large cities has produced a perennial hope for small towns. It has been—and still is—the small town which is regarded as ‘the antidote to the problems, alleged and real, shown up or caused by large cities. And both such hopes and fears are so strong because in them the attitudes of various societies and cultures merge, because they are reinforced by the apprehension of bigness as such, and of the images associated with large-scale settlements and enterprises—images of depersonalization, alienation, anomie, bureaucratization, and compulsion, and because such attitudes are tied up also with various plans for dispersal of population and industries—for small industries and cottage industries as alternatives to large-scale or monopolistic industrial concentration. Thus the small towns are quite often seen as the ‘bridge’ between the urban and the rural universe, as the kind of settlement which can offer the best, and none of the worst, of both worlds.

Such thinking (or wishful thinking) continues to be promoted for the simple reason that there are comparatively few facts available either to confirm or to contradict it. Very little is known about small towns anywhere, and this is so especially in countries in the throes of urbanization.¹

In the Indian context, a small town may be defined as an urban area with a population below 20 000. In terms of census classification (see Chapter Four) these towns, in turn, may be classified into three classes

Class IV	10 000–19,999
Class V	5 000–9,999
Class VI	Below 5 000

In Tables 1 and 2 we summarize the status and growth of small towns vis-à-vis the big cities and large towns.

We shall now discuss the role of small towns in the urbanization process of India and also give some comparable data for Pakistan.

¹ Ruth Glass in her *Introduction to Urban Rural Differences in Southern Asia*, Unesco Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia, Delhi, 1964, p. 3.

in Assam. The following States can be put in the "slow urbanization" category inasmuch as the growth rates of their effective urban population were lower than the all-India average: Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

(3) We next consider the growth rates by urban classes. The all-India growth rate for cities (population 100,000 and over) was 48.0 per cent, while the growth rates for class II towns (50,000-100,000) and class III towns (20,000-50,000) were 25.0 per cent and 41.7 per cent respectively. Thus, the class III towns recorded a higher rate of growth compared to class II towns.

(4) The small towns in India (population below 20,000) recorded a decrease in population of the order of 7.2 per cent. But this, as we have already discussed, was on account of the stricter definition of "town" adopted in the 1961 census.

(5) In column 8, we give the rate of urbanization as measured by the per cent variation in the urban proportion between 1951 and 1961 (without making adjustments for definitional changes). The rate of urbanization for India as a whole was 3.9 per cent. The rate varied from -12.0 per cent in Rajasthan to +65.4 per cent in Assam. The following States recorded negative rates of urbanization: Maharashtra, Gujarat, Mysore, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

(6) We next consider three important variables affecting urban growth, namely,

- (i) population of new towns as per cent of the total urban population;
- (ii) population of declining towns as per cent of the total urban population; and
- (iii) population of declassified towns as per cent of the total urban population.

In India as a whole, the new towns accounted for 6.1 per cent of the total urban population in 1961. This percentage varied from 0.4 per cent in Rajasthan to 31.1 per cent in Assam. This explains, to a considerable extent, the abnormally high rate of urban growth in Assam. This also explains, to a considerable extent, the abnormally low rate of urban growth in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh where the shares of new towns were 0.4 per cent and 0.5 per cent respectively.

(7) Turning to declining towns, we find that the contribution of these towns was 2.4 per cent of the total urban population in 1961. This percentage varied from 0.4 per cent in Assam to 5.9 per cent in Punjab.

(8) In India as a whole, 7.0 per cent of the total urban population in 1951 was in the category of declassified towns of 1961. Here again, there were wide inter-State variations. In Orissa and West Bengal, there were absolutely no declassified towns while in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the figures were 12.3 per cent and 13.3 per cent respectively. This explains to a great extent the slow urbanization in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

To sum up, when we consider all these three variables together, namely, the relative share of new towns, declining towns and declassified towns, we get a better insight into the process of urbanization in India and in the different States than is revealed by the overall figure for urban growth rates during the 1951-61 decade.

torians. Generalizations which are valid only when the *aggregate* urban population is considered reveal their weakness when disaggregate data in terms of urban size-classes are taken into account. In the context of analysis of urbanization in India and Pakistan, greater clarity can be attained if the urban population is broadly classified into two categories—"effective urban" and "quasi-urban". Effective urban population may be taken to represent the population of towns and cities with 20,000 and more inhabitants while quasi urban population may be taken to represent the population of towns with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants. We may also designate towns belonging to the latter category as *small towns*.

Our analysis of the process of urbanization in India during the six decades, 1901-61, reveals the slow growth of the population of small towns. Some of the broad questions which emerge from our study are as follows. Is the process of urbanization essentially a process of city-ward migration? Are the small towns sending out people to bigger towns and cities? Is the stagnation of small towns linked up with the decline of traditional industries? In an era of planned economic development, have the small towns failed to receive adequate attention from planners in spite of the professed objective of decentralization of industries? Has the economic infra-structure been strengthened in the small towns to sustain a higher rate of economic growth and induce migration to these towns? These and many other related questions will have to be answered before we can comment with confidence on the urbanization process of India and Pakistan. We do not attempt to answer any of these questions here. All we do here is to provide a statistical outline for more comprehensive studies on the role of small towns in the urbanization process.

According to the 1961 census, 18 per cent of India's population was urban compared to Pakistan's 13.1 per cent. However, the rate of growth of the urban population during 1951-61 was 34 per cent in India (after adjusting for definitional changes) and 56.4 per cent in Pakistan. Thus, while India is more urban than Pakistan, the rate of urban growth is higher in Pakistan than in India. Interestingly enough the rate of urban growth in India and Pakistan was roughly the same during the 1941-51 decade, namely, 41.4 per cent in India and 41.9 per cent in Pakistan. But, as we have just observed, the rates were very different in the 1951-61 decade. It may be noted here that during 1951-61, the decade growth rate for the *total* population of India was 21.5 per cent while it was 23.5 per cent in Pakistan. The rate of growth of the rural population during 1951-61 was also very much the same in both the countries—19.1 per cent for India (after adjusting for definitional changes) and 19.8 per cent for Pakistan. A major problem for investigation, therefore, is what explains the slowing down of the pace of urbanization in India and an acceleration of the pace of urbanization in Pakistan during the 1951-61 decade. Part of the explanation may be statistical. Pakistan's urban population is small compared to India's and the proportion of urban population is also lower in Pakistan. Further, the definition of "urban" adopted in the 1961 census of India was more rigorous than in the earlier censuses and is not identical with the definition adopted in the Pakistan census. However, in our analysis we have used comparable figures, having

TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION AMONG SIX URBAN CLASSES: 1961

<i>Urban classes</i>	<i>No. of towns*</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
I. 100,000 & over	107	4.0	35.1	44.5
II. 50,000-99,999	139	5.1	9.5	12.1
III. 20,000-49,999	518	19.2	15.8	20.0
SUB-TOTAL (I-III)	764	28.3	60.4	76.6
IV. 10,000-19,999	820	30.4	11.3	14.3
V. 5,000-9,999	848	31.4	6.3	8.0
VI. Below 5,000	268	9.9	0.9	1.1
SUB-TOTAL (IV-VI)	1,936	71.7	18.5	23.4
GRAND TOTAL (I-VI)	2,700	100.0	78.9	100.0

*This table takes no note of town groups. If town groups are considered the total number of towns will be reduced to 2,462 and that of small towns (urban classes IV-VI) to 1,712. NOTE. The average population of a small town in 1961 was 9,573.

TABLE 2.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF (a) CITIES AND BIG TOWNS AND (b) SMALL TOWNS: 1901-1961

	<i>Per cent variation (per decade)</i>		
	<i>Cities and big towns (I-III)</i>	<i>Small towns (IV-VI)</i>	<i>Total (I-VI)</i>
1901-11	3.6	-3.0	0.4
1911-21	12.2	4.0	8.3
1921-31	25.1	12.1	19.1
1931-41	47.1	12.3	32.0
1941-51	52.6	22.4	41.4
1951-61	42.2	-7.2	26.4
	(42.3)*	(16.4)*	(34.0)*

*As a result of the rigorous definition of town adopted in the 1961 census, 802 towns of 1951 were declassified in 1961. There was, in fact, a net decrease in the number and population of small towns. The figures in parentheses are adjusted for definitional changes and, therefore, comparable to 1951 figures.

Effective Urban and Quasi-Urban Population

The slow growth of small towns and the stagnation, decay and declassification of several such towns in a period of rapid urbanization is a phenomenon which has not received adequate attention from demographers and economic his-

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1941-51	52.6	22.4	41.4
1951-61	42.2	-7.2	26.4
	(42.3)*	(16.4)*	(34.0)*

*As a result of the rigorous definition of town adopted in the 1961 census, 802 towns of 1951 were declassified in 1961. There was, in fact, a net decrease in the number and population of small towns. The figures in parentheses are adjusted for definitional changes and, therefore, comparable to 1951 figures.

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TABLE 4.—RATE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION OF SIX URBAN CLASSES IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN 1951-61

Class of Town	Per cent variation	
	India	Pakistan
I 100 000 and over	48.0	77.0
II 50 000-99 999	25.0	73.0
III 20 000-49 999	41.7	23.6 (25 000-49 999)
IV 10 000-19 999	20.5	39.2 (10 000-24 999)
V 5 000-9,999	-25.5*	33.1
VI Below 5 000	-57.3*	40.4
Total	26.4*	57.4
	34.0 (adjusted)	

*Due to the new definition of urban adopted in the 1961 census of India, 803 towns were declassified and there was an absolute decrease in the number of towns in 1961 compared to 1951. We have, however, given an adjusted figure which takes note of definitional changes.

towns in each urban class is not the same. One has to take into account *reclassification* balance having regard to the towns which graduate to a higher class and towns which enter the class from a lower class and also the cases of 'demotion' of towns. Otherwise the group totals of different classes may even give a misleading picture of urban growth. A better method for the study of urban growth rates is to consider the growth rate of each city and town and then classify the urban population in respect of growth rates. We have done this for India and Pakistan and summarize the position in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 5.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS ACCORDING TO DECADE GROWTH RATE, 1951-61, IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

1951-61 decade growth rate (per cent)	India		Pakistan	
	No. of towns	Per cent of total	No. of towns	Per cent of total
A. Decrease in population	135	5.5	24	6.1
B. Slow growth 0-20	804	32.7	188	47.9
C. Moderate 20-50	880	35.7	109	27.7
D. High 50-100	195	7.9	37	9.4
E. Very high 100+	83	3.4	22	5.6
F. New Towns	365	14.8	13	3.3
TOTAL	2,462*	100.0	393	100.0

*These refer to town groups and towns and not to census towns which number 2,700.

worked out the adjustments arising out of the new definition. In 1951, the definition of urban was the same in both India and Pakistan.

Growth Rate of Small Towns

At the outset, we must point out that the big cities (population of 100,000 and over) play a more important role in the urbanization process of Pakistan than of India. Though only 13 per cent of Pakistan's population is urban compared to India's 18 per cent, the big cities account for 7.4 per cent of Pakistan's population compared to India's 8 per cent. And when we consider the distribution of the urban population into 6 classes, we find that the class I cities account for 44.5 per cent of India's urban population compared to 56.1 per cent of Pakistan's urban population (Table 3).

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN INTO SIX URBAN CLASSES: 1961

Class of Town	Per cent of urban population	
	India	Pakistan
I. 100,000 and over	44.5	56.1
II. 50,000-99,999	12.1	8.1
III. 20,000-49,999	20.0	13.4 (25,000-49,999)
IV. 10,000-19,999	14.3	12.6 (10,000-24,999)
V. 5,000-9,999	8.0	7.6
VI. Below 5,000	1.1	2.2
	100.0	100.0

NOTE: The figures for India are computed on the basis of data for towns. If town groups are considered the distribution of urban population will be as follows: class I: 48.4, II: 11.9, III: 18.5, IV: 13.0, V: 7.2 and VI: 1.0.

We may now consider the growth of urban population in different size-classes. Table 4 shows that in India the rate of growth of population of class I cities during 1951-61 was 48 per cent compared to Pakistan's 77 per cent. It may be noted, however, that in absolute terms, the class I cities in India accounted for 69 per cent of the total growth of urban population during 1951-61 compared to 67 per cent in the case of Pakistan. Table 4 also shows that except for class III towns, the rate of growth of population of all classes of towns was higher in Pakistan than in India. In India, owing to the new definition of urban adopted in the 1961 census, there was an actual decrease in the number and population of towns belonging to classes V and VI. We shall discuss this point in detail later.

There are obvious limitations in studying the growth rate of any urban class on the basis of aggregate data because at two points of time the number of

(population below 20,000) in India and Pakistan which recorded an actual decrease or a slow rate of growth of population

TABLE 7—DECLINING AND STAGNANT SMALL TOWNS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

<i>Decade growth rate 1951-61</i>	<i>India</i>			<i>Pakistan</i>		
	<i>No of small towns (below 20,000)</i>	<i>Total no of towns in each category</i>	<i>Per cent of small towns to total towns</i>	<i>No of small towns (below 20,000)</i>	<i>Total no of towns in each category</i>	<i>Per cent of small towns to total towns</i>
Decrease	117	135	86.7	18	24	75.0
0-10 per cent	237	291	81.4	140	146	95.9
10-20 per cent	357	513	62.3	27	42	64.3
TOTAL	711	939	75.7	185	212	87.3

TABLE 8—SHARE OF POPULATION OF SMALL TOWNS IN THE DECLINING AND STAGNANT CATEGORY

<i>Decade growth rate 1951-61</i>	<i>India</i>		<i>Pakistan</i>	
	<i>Population of small towns in each category (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent of population of small towns (18.54 million)</i>	<i>Population of small towns in each category (millions)</i>	<i>Per cent of population of small towns (2.37 million)</i>
Decrease	1.03	5.56	0.14	5.91
0-10 per cent	2.34	12.62	0.89	37.55
10-20 per cent	3.70	19.96	0.24	10.13
TOTAL	7.07	38.14	1.27	53.59

Table 7 indicates that about 76 per cent of the total number of declining and stagnant towns in India were small towns (i.e. with populations below 20,000) while the comparable figure for Pakistan was 87 per cent. In terms of the proportion of such declining and stagnant towns to the *total* number of small towns, we find that in India it was 41 per cent while in Pakistan it was 62 per cent. Table 8 gives the details in terms of population. Over 38 per cent of the quasi-urban population in India and about 54 per cent of the quasi-urban population of Pakistan belong to the declining and stagnant category. If we work out the figures on the basis of the *total* urban population, we get the following results: 9.0 per cent for India and 10.4 per cent for Pakistan.

A detailed picture on the role of small towns in the urbanization process of India and Pakistan can be had from a districtwise breakdown of the urban

TABLE 6.—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN DIFFERENT GROWTH CATEGORIES IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

1951-61 decade growth rate (per cent)	Per cent of urban population, 1961	
	India	Pakistan
A. Decrease in population	2.1	4.5
B. Slow growth: 0-20	28.4	15.5
C. Moderate: 20-50	48.1	24.5
D. High: 50-100	13.4	46.0
E. Very high: 100+	3.4	8.8
F. New Towns	4.6	0.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

It will be seen that 38 per cent of the towns in India and 54 per cent of the towns in Pakistan belong to the declining and stagnant categories. But in terms of population, these towns account for a little over 30 per cent of India's urban population and 20 per cent of Pakistan's urban population. The much higher rate of growth of urban population in Pakistan can be largely explained by the fact that 55 per cent of Pakistan's urban population belongs to the "high" and "very high" growth categories (over 50 per cent increase) compared to India's mere 17 per cent in these categories. It is possible that many towns in India have reached saturation point and their growth rates are falling while Pakistan is still in its first phase of urbanization. In fact, in East Pakistan, only 5.2 per cent of the total population was urban in 1961 while in West Pakistan, 22.5 per cent of the total population was urban. West Pakistan is more industrial than East Pakistan and likewise the rate of urban growth during 1951-61 was higher in West Pakistan (60 per cent) than in East Pakistan (43 per cent).

But the stagnation of small towns has been a feature of urbanization in both India and Pakistan. In fact, the much higher growth rates of urban classes IV, V and VI (i.e. group totals for small towns) in Pakistan revealed by Table 4 are misleading. A detailed examination of townwise data does not warrant the conclusion that small towns in Pakistan are growing faster than in India. The clue to Pakistan's higher urban growth rate lies in the more dominant position of the big cities in Pakistan and the much higher rates of growth of such cities in Pakistan than in India.

Declining and Stagnant Towns

The mere fact that the rate of growth of population of small towns in Pakistan is higher than in the case of small towns in India should not be taken to imply that there is no stagnation and decay of small towns in Pakistan. As already mentioned, we have examined the growth rate for every single town in India and Pakistan for the decade 1951-61. Space does not permit us to give a detailed picture but in Tables 7 and 8 we give data for those small towns

CHAPTER SEVEN

RAPID POPULATION GROWTH, URBANIZATION AND SURPLUS LABOUR

IT IS INTERESTING to note that whereas all the projections made in regard to the total population of India in 1961 erred on the side of under estimation and the actual 1961 population turned out to be considerably larger than even the "high" estimates, in regard to the urban population the projections erred on the side of over-estimation and the urban population in 1961, even after definitional adjustments, turned out to be lower than anticipated. It must be borne in mind that 1951-61 was a decade of rapid industrialization and one would have normally expected an increase in the tempo of urbanization. But, paradoxically, the 1961 census indicated a comparatively slow tempo of urbanization in a decade of an increasing tempo of industrialization—a phenomenon that deserves careful study by demographers and economists.

We may, at this stage, take a quick look at the economic history of India in relation to urbanization for the decades 1901 to 1951. During this first half of the 20th century, there never was a "normal" decade of growth of urban population. The plague epidemic of 1911 led to a mass exodus from a large number of towns and cities in Northern India and brought about a set back in urbanization during 1901-11. The First World War and attempts at industrialization brought some urbanization during the next decade (1911-21), but this decade was marked by the great influenza epidemic of 1918 which took a very heavy toll and the population of India actually decreased during this decade. The great depression of 1930 again caused a set back in urbanization during the decade 1921-31. The Second World War and the impetus given to a large number of industries were responsible for accelerating the pace of urbanization during 1931-41. The partition of India in 1947 and the mass migration of refugees had its impact on urban growth and the decade 1941-51 recorded the highest ever rate of urbanization.

The 1951-61 decade was largely free from the impact of "abnormal" circumstances such as epidemics, war and partition. It was also the first decade of planned economic development in India and a decade of rapid industrialization. Indeed, for a proper study of industrialization, urbanization and economic growth in India, this decade should be considered as the starting point. Incidentally, this is also the first decade for which fairly adequate data are available.

population into effective urban and quasi-urban. Our analysis of the data for 337 districts of India and 68 districts of Pakistan reveals that in India in 298 out of the 337 districts (88 per cent) the quasi-urban population was *more than 50 per cent* of the total urban population whereas in East Pakistan, in 3 out of the 14 districts and in West Pakistan in 23 out of the 51 districts the quasi-urban population was *more than 50 per cent* of the total urban population. Thus in regard to the distribution of urban population in different size-classes of towns, the role of small towns is more important in India than in Pakistan. And it is the declassification, decline and slow growth of these towns which explain to a large extent the slower pace of urbanization in India compared to Pakistan.

The Future of Small Towns

We have not discussed here the role of new and satellite towns in the urbanization process of India and Pakistan. Most of these towns are small. However, many of these are potentially big like the steel towns of India. From the demographic point of view, it is important to consider the role of these towns as counter magnets to the existing large metropolitan centres. If these towns succeed in diverting at least a part of the migration to big cities, there will be some prospect of a more orderly urbanization. But new towns are costly to build and considerations of cost alone will restrict the number of such towns. In India, a Parliamentary Committee which looked into the cost of townships of 42 public-sector undertakings observed that "If a substantial portion of the investment is spent on townships before any significant productive activity of a project starts, as is the case at present, it adds considerably to the overheads of an individual enterprise and affects its profitability."² There is also the problem of activating, regenerating and renovating existing small towns which again will mean considerable investment in the urban infrastructure. But it must be emphasized that the role of such towns is not only in the field of industrialization but also in the wider sphere of agricultural and rural development. Modernization of agriculture depends not only on marketing, storage and such other facilities but also on services needed for improving agricultural practices and in respect of agro-industries and a whole range of small-scale industries. The crucial role of planned urbanization is one of minimizing the economic and social costs involved in laying the foundations of modern agriculture and industry.

Our analysis of the limited data on small towns based on the censuses of India and Pakistan (limited largely on account of the restricted tabulations) leads to the conclusion that all is not well with small towns in the sub-continent. The slow growth, stagnation and decay of a large number of small towns is a phenomenon which must be studied historically. The stagnation of small towns in an era of planned industrialization deserves serious attention from planners and policy-makers in India and Pakistan.

² Government of India, Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings, *Eighth Report on Township and Factory Buildings of Public Undertakings*, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1965, p. 75.

It is just possible that there has been considerable variation in these two censuses in regard to the classification of unpaid family workers among the females. To be on the safe side, we shall consider only male workers in the tables which follow. In fact, the Census Commissioner himself adopted this procedure in studying the shift in the occupational structure during 1951-61. Table 2 gives an idea of such shifts in India as a whole.

TABLE 2—SHIFT IN RATIOS OF MALE WORKERS IN INDIA 1951-1961

	1951	1961	Variation
Cultivation and agricultural labour	66.85	64.83	1.97
Forestry, plantation, mining, quarrying, etc.	2.79	3.10	+0.31
Household industry and manufacturing	9.84	11.27	+1.43
Construction	1.19	1.41	+0.22
Trade and commerce	6.21	5.29	-0.92
Transport, storage and communication	2.04	2.28	+0.24
Services	11.08	11.77	+0.69
	100.00	100.00	

It will be noticed that the percentage of male workers dependent on cultivation has slightly decreased between 1951 and 1961—it has gone down from 66.9 per cent to 64.9 per cent. The percentage of male workers dependent on household industry and manufacturing has increased from 9.8 to 11.3 during this decade.

Table 3 indicates the structural changes in the distribution of male workers in the different industrial categories in the urban areas. It will be noticed that the percentage of male workers dependent on manufacturing and household industry in the urban areas increased from 25.8 in 1951 to 28.6 in 1961. It may be noted that while the variation in construction is only of the order of 0.97 per cent points, the variation in percentage terms is of the order of 67.9 as is indicated in Table 4. In percentage terms, the manufacturing and household industry sector has shown a rise of 39.4 in ten years. In absolute terms, the increase in the number of male workers in this category is of the order of 1,795 thousand or a little over 39 per cent of the total increase in male workers in urban areas during 1951-61.

In the Appendix to this chapter, we present comparable data for 1951 and 1961 in regard to the big cities (population of 100,000 and over) of India in 1951 and 1961 which indicate changes in the occupational structure in these cities. It may be noted here that, in accordance with the economic data for these cities presented in the 1951 census, we have classified the cities into four categories: industrial, commercial, transport and administrative (there was also an unclassified category). Retaining our 1951 classification, we have indicated the pattern that emerged in 1961, after ten years of industrialization. Of the 26 industrial cities listed by us, only in 11 cities did the percentage of male workers dependent on the household and manufacturing sector showed

for the study of urbanization in relation to economic growth. As mentioned in the last chapter, the rural-urban dichotomy in the presentation of all basic census data was introduced in the tabulation scheme for the first time in the 1951 census. It must also be noted that questions on "place of birth: rural or urban and the duration of residence in case of those whose place of birth was not the place of enumeration", were also introduced for the first time in the 1961 census, thereby yielding a mass data on migration (subject to the limitations of migration data on the basis of place of birth). The National Sample Surveys were introduced in 1950 and this decade also saw the undertaking of a large number of socio-economic and demographic surveys. Thus, in spite of the several limitations of Indian statistics, the fact remains that there has been a tremendous improvement, in quantity and quality, in regard to the availability of data for the study of industrialization, urbanization and economic growth in India for the decade 1951-61.

Changes in the Occupational Structure: 1951-1961

The 1961 census gave up the 1951 census concept of dependency in favour of the concept of work. In 1951, all persons were classified in one of the following three categories: (a) self-supporting persons; (b) earning dependents; and (c) non-earning dependents. Roughly, the self-supporting persons and the earning dependents combined constituted the working force. In 1961, all persons were classified first as workers or non-workers. The workers were then classified into 9 industrial categories.

While the 1961 classification scheme is more in line with the international practice of classifying workers into economically active and otherwise, this has again rendered comparability with 1951 data difficult and a host of adjustments are called for. Here we shall refer only to the broad dimensions of the occupational structure of the Indian economy and the changes therein during 1951-61 and there is no reason to believe that such comparisons cannot be made. We have, however, one reservation. The 1961 census has shown a significant rise in the working-force participation rate for females compared to that in 1951 (Table 1).

TABLE 1.—WORKING-FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES: 1951 AND 1961

	Rural		Variation	Urban		Variation
	1951	1961		1951	1961	
Males	54.24	58.04	+3.77	53.16	52.03	-1.13
Females	25.79	31.37	+5.58	10.74	10.76	+0.02
TOTAL	40.28	44.95	+4.67	33.54	33.14	-0.40

SOURCE: B. R. Kalra: *The 1961 Census and its Implications in Terms of Labour Force Growth, Employment, etc.* Issued by Office of Registrar General (mimeographed), p. 28.

One of the important improvements in the 1961 census was the splitting up of the 1951 census category (V), "production other than cultivation", into two categories: (i) "workers at household industry", and (ii) "workers in manufacturing other than household industry". In spite of all the industrialization that has taken place in India, only 4.2 per cent of the total working force in India is engaged in manufacturing industries as will be seen in Table 5. Another interesting feature revealed by the 1961 census is that whereas there were 4.67 million female workers in household industry, the number of female workers in manufacturing other than household industry was only 0.79 million. In the case of males too, there were more workers in household industry than in manufacturing industries in the country as a whole, the figures being 7.37 million and 7.17 million in household industry and manufacturing industry respectively.

TABLE 5—PER CENT OF WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN URBAN, RURAL AND TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX 1961

	Male (1)	Female (2)	Total (1+2)
Urban	22.95	9.89	20.97
Rural	1.90	0.71	1.49
TOTAL	5.56	1.33	4.22

SOURCE: Computed from Table III, Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1962

To indicate the relationship between the household sector and the manufacturing sector, we have calculated *M/H* ratios (the number of workers in manufacturing industry per 1,000 workers in household industry). In Table 6, we present the *M/H* ratios for males and females in urban and rural areas separately in all the States of India.

It will be seen that West Bengal has the highest *M/H* ratio in the urban areas and the second highest (next only to Kerala) in the rural areas. West Bengal is the only State where, in the urban areas, there are more female workers in manufacturing industries than in household industries.

Table 6 also throws light on the industrial structure of India. It may be noted that the number of factory workers (employed in establishments deemed factories in accordance with the Factories Act) was only 3.91 million in 1961 or only 2.1 per cent of the total working force. The insignificance of the large-scale manufacturing sector in the economy of India is highlighted by this small fraction of the working force dependent on factory industries. Another interesting feature of the economic structure of India is the large share of "single" workers (persons working alone) and family workers even in the case of male workers in urban areas. As Table 7 indicates, 24.3 per cent of the male workers in the non-agricultural sector in the urban areas were single workers and 10.7 per cent were family workers. In the case of females in urban areas, the solitary

TABLE 3.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE WORKERS IN URBAN AREAS: 1951-61

	1951	1961	Variation
I. Cultivators	7.63	5.59	-2.04
II. Agricultural labourers	3.09	2.22	-0.87
III. Plantations:			
(a) forestry, fishing, livestock, hunting	1.68	2.00	+0.32
(b) mining and quarrying	0.58	0.79	+0.21
IV & V. Manufacturing including household industry	25.81	28.57	+2.76
VI. Construction	2.91	3.88	+0.97
VII. Trade and commerce	20.17	18.13	-2.04
VIII. Transport, storage and communication	7.64	9.33	+1.69
IX. Other services	30.49	29.49	-1.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	

TABLE 4.—INCREASE IN MALE WORKERS IN URBAN AREAS: 1951-61

	(thousands)	% variation 1951-61
I. Cultivators	-105	-7.79
II. Agricultural labourers	-52	-9.49
III. Plantations		
(a) forestry, fishing, livestock, hunting	148	49.72
(b) mining and quarrying	73	71.74
IV & V. Manufacturing including household industry	1,795	39.37
VI. Construction	349	67.92
VII. Trade and commerce	468	13.15
VIII. Transport, storage and communication	724	53.64
IX. Other services	1,171	21.73
TOTAL	4,571	25.88

an increase; in the case of the rest, there was a decrease in this proportion. Among the other types of cities, it is interesting to note that the three big cities of Punjab, namely, Amritsar, Ludhiana and Jullundur, showed significant increase in the ratio of male workers dependent on the industrial sector. This is true also of Ranchi, Gaya, Guntur and Bareilly. The rapid pace of industrialization (basically small-scale) in the Punjab was reflected in the significant shifts in the occupational structure of the cities there. But, in the case of the older industrial centres like Jamshedpur and Kanpur, there was a significant decline in the proportion of industrial workers. The almost complete stoppage of the gold mining industry is reflected in the figures for Kolar Gold Field city in Mysore.

workers accounted for 27.7 per cent of the total female workers and the family workers accounted for 31.4 per cent of the total female workers

Migration

Old Indian census reports invariably contained a discussion on "economic migration and marriage migration". But, in the absence of any data in the census on this migration, no definite conclusions could be arrived at. More recently, thanks to a National Sample Survey (NSS) report, we have a fairly clear picture of these two types of migration. Table 8 gives a summary picture. It will be seen that over 57 per cent of the males come to the big cities for economic reasons, whereas about 58 per cent of the females come to the big cities on marriage and with other earning members of the household. The large streams of females who migrate to the big cities from the rural areas in search of jobs or

TABLE 7—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN THE NON AGRICULTURAL SECTOR BY ECONOMIC STATUS 1961

	Male		Female	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Employer	2.84	6.15	0.79	1.22
Employee	32.89	58.80	14.89	39.70
Single worker	30.98	24.32	29.99	27.73
Family worker	33.29	10.73	54.33	31.35
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: Kalra *op cit*, p. 35

TABLE 8—ECONOMIC MIGRATION AND MARRIAGE MIGRATION INTO URBAN AREAS (Per cent of migrants)

Reasons for Migration	Sex	Big cities*	3 lakh+	Below 3 lakh	All Urban
1. In search of employment	M	47.3	34.0	21.6	28.8
	F	2.6	2.4	1.6	1.8
2. For better employment	M	10.1	13.2	11.3	11.3
	F	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9
3. On marriage	M	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.6
	F	27.7	41.7	51.2	46.2
4. With earning members of the household	M	11.1	13.3	19.0	16.5
	F	30.1	25.2	24.7	26.0

*The big cities are Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Delhi.

Note: Lakh stands for 100,000.

SOURCE: Based on Tables (3.7) 1 to (3.7) 4 in National Sample Survey (NSS) Number 53. Tables with Notes on Internal Migration, Delhi, 1962.

TABLE 6.—RATIO OF WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY TO WORKERS IN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY
(M:1H) BY SEX, URBAN, RURAL AND TOTAL IN DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA, 1961
(workers in household industry = 1,000)

States	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
INDIA	3,971	498	2,651	334	101	243	973	169	661
Andhra Pradesh	1,535	417	1,035	159	69	127	337	132	262
Assam	6,901	461	2,589	2,228	28	214	3,228	49	370
Bihar	3,008	439	2,265	323	65	208	639	89	403
Gujarat	6,576	597	4,261	312	72	221	1,457	170	965
Jammu & Kashmir	2,218	195	1,815	213	33	103	727	41	350
Kerala	5,607	853	2,850	1,665	415	893	2,083	455	1,084
Madhya Pradesh	2,676	335	1,741	89	49	75	572	109	400
Madras	2,490	333	1,517	490	115	330	1,102	186	703
Maharashtra	7,321	969	4,756	367	109	291	2,128	626	1,567
Mysore	2,511	540	1,708	253	122	207	796	243	595
Orissa	2,580	461	1,928	72	38	56	255	54	162
Punjab	4,073	270	3,068	312	97	265	806	126	654
Rajasthan	2,045	441	1,495	116	48	94	360	104	288
Uttar Pradesh	2,316	176	1,816	240	43	186	584	62	445
West Bengal	18,236	2,043	14,763	1,172	268	800	4,147	403	2,707

SOURCE: Computed from Table III of Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1962.

was unemployed compared to 4.8 per cent among the immigrant labour force (Table 11)

TABLE 11—UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN BOMBAY CITY

	Per cent of labour force unemployed		
	Male	Female	Total
Displaced persons	4.6	14.6	5.4
Immigrants	4.5	9.2	4.8
Residents	7.1	9.7	7.4
TOTAL	6.6	9.8	6.9

SOURCE: D. T. Lakdawala *et al.* *Work, Wages and Well Being in an Indian Metropolis: Economic Survey of Bombay City* Bombay 1963, p. 482.

The 1961 census did not collect any data on underemployment. But data on underemployment in the urban areas are available in the NSS reports. Among the gainfully employed males in urban areas, 10 per cent were found underemployed, whereas among the females, 16 per cent were underemployed (Table 12).

TABLE 12.—PER CENT OF UNDEREMPLOYED AMONG THE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN URBAN AREAS

Age group	Males	Females
16-21	13.06	17.64
22-61	10.10	16.87
All ages*	10.28	16.30

* Including age groups 0-15 and 62 and above

SOURCE: National Sample Survey No. 63 *Tables with Notes on Employment and Unemployment in Urban Areas* p. 20

This slowing-down of the tempo of migration will mean added misery in rural areas as there is every possibility of rural wage rates getting further depressed. At the same time, the presence of a large surplus population in the rural areas constitutes a standing threat to the comparatively high wage rates in the urban areas and there is every possibility that rural-urban migration may force these wage rates down and thereby accentuate urban misery as well.

The implication of our analysis in terms of economic development is that urbanization in the face of rapid population growth has built in obstacles in the form of a surplus labour force in the urban areas which has to be liquidated before there is any scope for a significant shift of population from the rural to the urban areas. This not only slows down the tempo of urbanization, but also

because of better employment opportunities seen in the West is a phenomenon which is unknown in India, except in the case of construction workers.

The conventional push and pull analysis, as we pointed out earlier, is an over-simplification. In any case, such an analysis can be meaningful only in the context of comparative rural and urban wage rates. But, unfortunately, studies on migration pay no attention to this aspect. On the assumption that "better employment" represents a pull factor and "in search of employment" represents a push factor, we can calculate push:pull ratios for migrants coming to urban areas. Table 9 gives these ratios. It shows that for every 100 male migrants who come to urban areas for *better* employment, there are 254 male migrants who come in search of employment itself. It also shows that the bigger the size of the city, the higher the push: pull ratio.

TABLE 9.—RATIO OF MALE MIGRANTS COMING IN SEARCH OF EMPLOYMENT TO MALE MIGRANTS COMING FOR BETTER EMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AREAS
(Better employment = 100)

Big cities	470
3 lakh +	257
Below 3 lakh	191
All persons	254

SOURCE: Computed from data given in Table 8.

In the context of push and pull analysis, we wish to introduce the concept "push-back factor," a factor which is responsible for inhibiting the potential flow of migrants from the rural areas to the urban areas. At the root of this factor is the high rate of natural increase in population leading to the growth of a sizable labour force within the urban areas. It must also be noted that both unemployment and underemployment are increasing in the urban areas. The possibility of fresh migrants coming into the urban areas is thus considerably lessened on account of the pools of unemployed and underemployed persons which have to be first liquidated. In support of our argument, we may point out that the unemployment rate in the urban areas is higher among the resident population than among the migrants as Table 10 will indicate. In the urban areas of India as a whole, 8.2 per cent of the labour force among the non-migrant or resident population was unemployed in 1957-58, compared to 6.4 per cent among the migrant population. Or take the case of Greater Bombay where a survey showed that 7.4 per cent of the labour force among the residents

TABLE 10.—PER CENT OF UNEMPLOYED IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN URBAN AREAS

Migrants	6.43
Non-migrant	8.17
All persons	7.35

SOURCE: Computed from Table (2) 8 in NSS No. 53: *Tables with Notes on Internal Migration*.

46.8 per cent. During the same period, the share of factory establishments went up from 6.4 per cent to 10.0 per cent.² But there is another way of looking at the problem of structural stagnation and that is in terms of the labour force. The backlog of unemployed persons at the end of the First Plan (1951-56) was estimated to be around 5 million. The backlog of unemployment at the end of the Second Plan was estimated at 9 million. The Third Plan estimated that the new entrants to the labour force during the Third Plan period (1961-66) would be of the order of 17 million while it provided for the creation of only 14 million new jobs.

Urbanization Faster than Industrialization

It is unrealistic to argue that industrialization in India is not rapid enough to keep pace with urban growth. It is doubtful whether, even after twenty years, industrialization will be able to keep pace with urban growth. We will not go into the mechanics of industrialization here but will merely point out that during 1951-61 the number of employees in large-scale factories increased by one million only. We must face the fact that industrialization cannot be the solution of the problem of surplus labour in India. In such discussions, a plea is invariably made for small scale industries. But the case for small industries is made more often than not on philosophical, sentimental grounds, just as the role of small towns is often emphasized on romantic grounds. But economic reality tends to be somewhat different. As Dhar and Lydall point out in their study of small enterprises

Within the modern sector of manufacturing industry—with which we are primarily concerned—available evidence suggests that small factories use more capital and more labour per unit of output than larger factories. From the point of view of saving capital, medium or large multi shift factories give the best results, and small factories usually the worst. There is, therefore, no general case for promoting small modern factories on these grounds.³

Similarly, with regard to the development of small towns, we may study trends in industrial location to assess their importance. William Bredo has studied the distribution of manufacturing enterprise licensing in India during 1951-57 by size-class of urban areas (Table 13). Curiously enough, this table shows that while 31.4 per cent of the urban population was in towns with less than 20,000 people, 33.1 per cent of the licences issued was in respect of these places. This impression is corrected by data for Bombay and Calcutta. As Bredo points out, the pertinent question here is

How much of the growth in small communities was within the metropolitan orbit of the major industrial centres? by determining the location of

² Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India. *Estimates of National Income 1943-49 to 1961-62*, Delhi, January 1963.

³ P. N. Dhar and H. F. Lydall. *The Role of Small Enterprise in Indian Economic Development*. Institute of Economic Growth Studies in Economic Growth, No. 1. Bombay 1951, pp. 84-85.

worsens the situation in rural areas. While the pressure of population on land goes on increasing, the channels of rural-urban migration are closed or narrowed down on account of the "push-back" from urban areas.

"Unlimited" Supplies of Labour

Arthur Lewis¹ has pointed out the theoretical implications of economic development with "unlimited" supplies of labour. A. M. Khusro² has worked out the implications in statistical terms of these unlimited supplies of labour in the Indian context. Both Lewis and Khusro have discussed the problem in terms of shifts from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector. As Khusro puts it:

The hard fact must now be faced squarely that agricultural population cannot be displaced in the course of the Third, Fourth or the Fifth five-year plans. And later on when displacement begins, it will begin, like a trickle, with an exodus of about one to three million persons per annum for some years. But the population or the number of families to be shifted in order to strike any sensible land-man ratio is so very large, indeed, that it will take many years of shifting before any serious dent can be made into the problem.³

This analysis could be usefully extended to take into account shifts from the rural to the urban sector also.

Commenting on the growth of the national income in India between 1931-32 and 1950-51, V. K. R. V. Rao concluded that

...the Indian economy has been more or less static in its character during the two decades ending with 1950-51.... If we have called this article "A Static Economy in Progress," it is because of the attempts that have been made during this period to industrialise the country and also increase its agricultural output. In absolute terms the attempt is not insignificant; but in terms of its effect on the structure of the economy as a whole and on the average levels of living in the country, it has made but little impact, though it has certainly resulted in widening the range of inequalities in the non-agricultural sector and brought about significant advances in the levels of living of an infinitely small section of the people.⁴

"Static economy in progress" is an apt description of the structural stagnation we have referred to. No doubt, in the 1951-61 decade, there has been some improvement in the sense that whereas in 1951-52 agriculture accounted for 50.4 per cent of the national income, in 1961-62 the comparable figure was

¹ W. Arthur Lewis: "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour," *The Manchester School*, May 1954.

² A. M. Khusro: *Economic Development with no Population Transfer*. Institute of Economic Growth, Occasional Paper No. 4, Bombay, 1962.

³ A. M. Khusro: *An Analysis of Agricultural Land in India by Size of Holding and Tenure* (mimeographed), 1963.

⁴ V. K. R. V. Rao: "Changes in India's National Income: A Static Economy in Progress," Supplement to *Capital*, 16 December 1954, p. 17.

situation obtaining in the developing countries in their pre-industrial phases and that in the developing countries today. Both their studies lead to the conclusion that the task of economic development facing the underdeveloped countries today is much more difficult than it was the case in the developed countries in their pre-industrial phase. Apart from differences in the demographic and economic situations, their social and political situations too are vastly different. As Kuznets points out

[The underdeveloped countries] face the problems of development after decades, if not centuries, of political subjection which, granted some beneficial effects, left a heritage against which the newly established independent regimes must struggle. Thus, they must approach the task of utilizing the available potential of economic knowledge not from the position of near leadership and at the end of a cumulative process of preceding growth and learning carried on under conditions of political independence, but from the position of laggards by a long distance and after a period in which internal organization was distorted either by political subjection or by co-existence with the aggressive leaders of the economic civilization of the West.⁹

Hoselitz confines himself to the significant differences in regard to urbanization. To summarize his arguments in his own words

Compared with European cities during a corresponding period of economic development, the cities of India, therefore, show the following economic features: urban industry is less developed and is characterized by a larger number of small scale and cottage type enterprises, the urban labour force, therefore, is made up of a smaller portion of industrial workers and a larger portion of persons in miscellaneous, usually menial, unskilled services, the urban labour market is fractionalized and composed of mutually non-competing groups, thus impeding optimum allocation of resources and preventing upward social mobility and relief in the amount of unemployment. All these features make economic development more difficult in India today than was the case in Europe in the 19th century.¹⁰

Harry Oshima makes a forceful plea for abandoning the present policies of industrialization in the developing countries of Asia. His main argument runs as follows

The costs of industrialization-urbanization are an enormous burden on the budgets of Asian countries, and the capital-output ratio for industrialization-urbanization is likely to be very much larger than the corresponding ratio for agricultural rurality, including in the latter rural roads, irrigation, drainage, costs of fertilizers, extension and community development ex-

⁹ Simon Kuznets, "Underdeveloped Countries and the Pre-Industrial Phase in the Advanced Countries: An Attempt at Comparison," in United Nations, *Proceedings of the World Population Conference 1954*, Vol. V, p. 954.

¹⁰ Bert F. Hoselitz, "The Role of Urbanization in Economic Development, Some International Comparisons," in Roy Turner (ed.), *India's Urban Future* (Berkeley, 1961), p. 168.

TABLE 13.—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION AND MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISE LICENCES BY SIZE-CLASS OF CITY: 1951-57

<i>Size-class of city</i>	<i>Per cent of urban population in 1951</i>	<i>Per cent of licences issued</i>
I. (100,000 and over)	41.8	47.6
Calcutta and Bombay	12.0	23.0
II. (50,000-100,000)	10.1	7.2
III. (20,000-50,000)	16.7	12.1
IV-VI. (Below 20,000)	31.4	33.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: William Bredo; "Industrial Decentralisation in India" in: Roy Turner (ed.): *India's Urban Future*, Berkeley, 1961, p. 257.

licensed firms within metropolitan Calcutta and Bombay it was found that 35 per cent of the total was in these two centres, which comprised 14 per cent of the urban population in 1951. Since these metropolitan plants may also be larger on the average than those in smaller cities, it would appear that there is still a very strong trend towards industrial expansion in or near the old major centres, despite the efforts towards wider dispersal. If some of the inherently localised processing industries such as sugar and cement are excluded, the share of industry in these two metropolitan areas is even greater.⁷

An analysis of the location of industrial projects in the public sector in a paper prepared by the Registrar General of India indicates the relatively unimportant role of the small towns in the location process.⁸

The almost total absence of industrial infra-structure in small towns makes the promotion of small industry in a small town virtually impossible. On the contrary, a large industry like a steel mill may be located in a small town which can be newly built. But, by and large, a small industry, under existing circumstances, can be profitably located only in a big city.

Kuznets-Hoselitz International Comparisons

Simon Kuznets has made a valuable contribution to comparative studies in urbanization in developing countries in his paper, "Underdeveloped Countries and the Pre-industrial Phase in the Advanced Countries," and Bert Hoselitz has done the same in his paper, "Urbanization—International Comparisons." Both of them have pointed out the significant differences in the demographic

⁷ William Bredo: "Industrial Decentralization in India," in: Roy Turner (ed.): *India's Urban Future*, Berkeley, 1961, p. 258.

⁸ Registrar General, India: *A Selection of Statistics of Small Towns in India*. Restricted paper prepared for the Unesco Seminar on Rural-Urban Differences and Relationship with Special Reference to the Role of Small Towns in Planned Development, New Delhi, December 1962.

agenda of economic development. We cannot also write off India's 80 millions in urban areas merely because they constitute only 18 per cent of the total population. We cannot give investment in urban infrastructure a low priority merely because economic history shows that agricultural progress preceded the industrial revolution. Urbanization may not be the solution of India's problem of economic growth and social change but we must also squarely face the fact that economic growth and social change is not possible without urbanization.

To sum up, we have argued that in view of the massive size of India's population and consequently that of her labour force and the high rate of population growth, the increase in the labour force is likely to be the most serious limiting factor in bringing about structural changes in her economy, and the country will be faced, at least for the next two decades, with a peculiar phenomenon of industrial growth without a significant shift of population from agriculture to industry and of growth of urban population without a significant rise in the ratio of the urban to the total population. Such structural stagnation can only inhibit economic growth. While we do not intend to belittle the importance of population control and family planning, we must point out that the size of the labour force over the next fifteen years will be independent of the current rate of population growth, inasmuch as all the potential entrants to the labour force during the next fifteen years have already been born. The remedy for the problem of structural stagnation during the next fifteen years does *not*, therefore, lie in family planning, though it can be argued that a lower rate of population growth may cut down consumption and increase the rate of savings and investment which will mean a higher rate of economic growth. And even at the end of the next fifteen years, on the assumption that the family planning movement succeeds, the proportion of the total population in the labour force will increase as a result of changes in the age structure of the population. This no doubt will be a desirable phenomenon in the sense that "age dependency" will decrease but it cannot be taken for granted that an increase in the proportion of the labour force will be conducive to economic growth. On the contrary, there is every possibility that "economic dependency" will increase in relation to the working population. This need not be a problem if the productivity per worker increases to such an extent that the increase in the income per worker will more than offset the increase in economic dependency but the chances of this happening seem to be meagre. And even if the income level of workers rises very significantly, it would be politically dangerous to argue that the problem of economic growth is one of increasing the per capita income, regardless of growing unemployment. 'Expanding employment opportunities' has always been a major goal of planning in India but the general assumption underlying this has been that with rapid industrialization the problem will solve itself. There is no ground for such optimism. And in regard to urbanization, as mentioned earlier, it is futile to argue that industrialization has not been rapid enough to keep pace with the growth of urban population and, therefore, there is 'over urbanization'. This so-called phenomenon of over urbanization

penditures, research expenditures, etc. The main reason for this is that in an agricultural-rural development programme, existing work-places, farms, tools, knowhow, houses, buildings, and village facilities are to a large degree to be used more intensively to produce a greater output. In a program for industrialization (and its concomitant urbanization), to a large extent, new factories, structures, buildings, roads, hospitals, prisons, courts, sewage, houses, parks, etc., have to be built. As I have attempted to show elsewhere, it is these highly durable, fixed investments which are responsible for the rise in the capital-output ratio in the course of economic development. In addition to the numerator of the industrialization-urbanization capital-output ratio, there should be added the current expenditures on what Kuznets once called "costs of urban civilization," i.e., costs of operation of police, sanitation, streets, city transportation, hospitals, etc. Of course, a certain degree of urbanization inevitably accompanies the development of civilization, but the point is that the underdeveloped countries in Asia today are in no position to afford the luxuries of urbanization, beset as they are with problems of overpopulation, unemployment, poverty, etc. Moreover, there is a possibility that with the recent developments in the means of transportation (buses, cars, railroads, motorcycles, bicycles) and of mass communications (television, telephone, radio, magazines, newspapers) and the trend toward suburban living in the West, there will be no need for the extensive development of large cities, as was the case in the past in the West, and much of the present investment in urban infra-structure may turn out to be wasteful, as far as the future is concerned.¹¹

Oshima's thesis, no doubt, deserves careful consideration. While we do not challenge his plea for an "agriculture-first" policy, we have our reservations about his thesis concerning urbanization. As we have pointed out in this chapter, even in "a zero net migration model," the problem of urbanization is bound to be serious in India on account of the massive size and the high rate of growth of population in urban areas where the rate of natural increase in population is tending to be more important than rural-urban migration, both in absolute terms and in relative terms. It must be noted that India's urban population today is more than the *total* population of Japan in 1950. It must also be noted that there is no city in India today where the provision of houses, water, sewerage, electricity, transport, schools, hospitals and all the other ingredients of urban infra-structure, can be considered adequate. And unless economic development in India succeeds in creating at least the minimum urban infra-structure in the decades to come, urbanization will pose a serious threat to the political stability of the country. A study of the pattern of investment in India's four Plans does not lend support to Oshima's contention that investments in urban infra-structure are being made at the cost of agricultural development. The fact remains that we cannot run away from the problem of urbanization by removing industrialization from

¹¹ Harry T. Oshima: "A Strategy for Asian Development," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. X, No. 3, April 1962, pp. 307-8.

APPENDIX (contd)

PER CENT OF MALE WORKERS IN HOUSEHOLD AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
IN 1951 AND 1961 IN BIG CITIES

City	<i>Per cent male workers dependent on household and manufacturing industries</i>		<i>Variation 1951-61</i>
	1951	1961	
D Administrative			
New Delhi	5.5	5.8	+0.3
Dehra Dun	13.6	15.3	+1.7
Ranchi	11.1	25.0	+13.9
Patna	11.9	19.6	+7.7
Meerut	18.7	24.8	+6.1
Madras	20.4	28.3	+7.9
Gaya	6.2	24.0	+17.8
Trivandrum	15.4	16.3	+0.9
Guntur	16.5	27.0	+10.5
Jodhpur	18.5	16.3	+2.2
Hyderabad	20.5	19.9	-0.6
Lucknow	22.5	24.1	+1.6
Mathura	19.1	17.3	-1.8
Poona	26.6	27.8	+1.2
Allahabad	21.0	21.6	+0.6
Jullundur	13.2	24.9	+11.7
Raykot	26.5	30.3	+3.8
Baroda	30.3	36.4	+6.1
Mysore	27.5	26.1	-1.4
Tanjore	21.7	23.1	+1.4
Vijawada	18.9	21.2	+2.3
Agra	26.8	31.6	+4.8
Mangalore	32.3	33.0	+0.7
Kolhapur	24.3	32.3	+8.0
Kozhikode	26.1	25.9	-0.2
Rajamundry	25.1	26.1	+1.0
Vellore	28.9	35.6	+6.7
Rampur	29.0	31.2	+2.2
Jaipur	28.6	25.8	-2.8
Bhagalpur	24.4	32.0	+7.6
Unclassified			
Tiruchinapalli	24.4	33.1	+8.7
Bareilly	11.7	28.3	+16.6
Sahasranpur	25.9	16.3	-9.6
Jhansi	26.4	20.0	-6.4
Tirunelveli	19.7	28.2	+8.5
Shahjahanpur	25.8	16.2	-9.6
Jamnagar	26.8	28.0	+1.2
S. Suburbs	33.1	36.2	+3.1

SOURCE The classification into different types of cities and the 1951 figures are taken from "The Process of Urbanization in India 1901-1951" (unpublished) by Ashish Bose. The 1961 figures are computed from Table V, Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1962 *Final Population Totals*

is in no way different from that of over-population. If the rate of economic growth does not keep pace with the rate of population growth, it is obvious that the ingredients of economic growth will also lag behind population growth.

APPENDIX

PER CENT OF MALE WORKERS IN HOUSEHOLD AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
IN 1951 AND 1961 IN BIG CITIES

City	<i>Per cent male workers dependent on household and manufacturing industries</i>		<i>Variation 1951-61</i>
	1951	1961	
A. Industrial			
Bhatpara	70.4	71.9	+1.5
Garden Reach	64.5	63.7	-0.8
Jamshedpur	64.2	57.5	-6.7
Ahmedabad	55.7	54.1	-1.6
Sholapur	54.4	57.9	+3.5
Salem	50.7	49.9	-0.8
K.G.F.	47.5	4.9	-42.6
Kanpur	46.0	38.6	-7.4
Surat	45.8	53.8	+8.0
Indore	44.0	40.4	-3.6
Ujjain	43.7	39.4	-4.3
Alleppey	43.0	30.5	-12.5
Madurai	40.0	39.7	-0.3
Hubli	39.9	34.6	-5.3
Nagpur	39.6	42.3	+2.7
Howrah	38.7	44.7	+6.0
Gr. Bombay	38.5	42.1	+3.6
Banaras	36.1	39.2	+2.9
Aligarh	33.9	31.9	-2.0
Moradabad	33.6	37.4	+3.8
Warangal	33.2	31.0	-2.2
Bangalore	32.9	35.5	+2.6
Jabalpur	32.8	32.7	-0.1
Bhavnagar	32.7	34.1	+1.4
Ajmer	32.3	13.0	-19.3
Coimbatore	31.8	38.6	+6.8
B. Commercial			
Delhi (M)	23.4	26.1	+2.7
Calcutta (M)	23.1	27.0	+3.9
Amritsar	15.5	34.8	+19.3
Ludhiana	8.0	42.7	+34.7
C. Transport			
Kharagpur	42.6	24.3	-18.3
Gorakhpur	25.7	27.8	+2.1
Visakhapatnam	19.9	14.9	-5.0

cities and urban agglomerations with population of over 100,000. The appendix gave the provisional population totals, the growth rate and the sex ratio for all the towns and cities of India. Thus within a few months of the enumeration, it was possible to get a fairly clear idea of the trend of urbanization during 1961-71.

In Chapter One we have briefly commented on the trend of urbanization during 1961-71. In this chapter we shall present some additional material. However, it is not possible at this stage to go into details because the data on migration are not yet available, so also the data on the detailed distribution of the working force. We may point out at this stage that there were two main improvements in regard to the census questionnaire in 1971. For the first time, a new question was asked on the place of last residence, whether it was rural or urban, the name of the district and the state. This question was asked in addition to the usual question on place of birth. Thus, for the first time in the history of census operations in India, it will be possible to comment on migration and urbanization on the basis of data collected through a *direct* question on migration. Another improvement in the 1971 census questionnaire was a sub question concerning the place of work (name of village/town), which was asked from all workers both in regard to the main activity and secondary work. It should now be possible to get an idea of commutation to the big cities.

Analysis of the valuable data collected through these two new questions must await the tabulation of these data. Meanwhile, we have to restrict our comments to the published tables.

Trend of Urbanization

The trend of urbanization during the last seven decades is indicated in Table 1. This and subsequent tables are based on *Census of India 1971, Paper No. 1 of 1971—Supplement, Provisional Population Totals*. In the course of this book, we have presented a number of tables and one may observe some discrepancy between the tables in regard to absolute numbers of urban population, growth rates, etc. The main explanation for these discrepancies lies in the grouping of towns into town groups and urban agglomerations. Sometimes uniformity is not followed in regard to these groupings and this results in minor variations in data.

It will be observed from Table 1 that, in 1961, the urban population was roughly 18 per cent of the total population, while, in 1971, it was roughly 20 per cent of the total population. But in terms of the per cent increase of the urban population, the *rate* of urbanization during 1961-71 cannot be regarded as *very high*. However, this is *primarily* a statistical phenomenon. In terms of absolute population size, there has been an increase of about 30 million in the urban population of India during the last 10 years and the rate of growth of the urban population has been of the order of 37.8 per cent. Thus, from the point of view of the urban growth rate, urbanization has indeed been rapid during the last decade. A growth rate of 2.5 per cent is enough to convince most people about the population explosion. Therefore, a growth rate of over 3.5

CHAPTER EIGHT

A DECADE OF RAPID URBANIZATION, 1961-71

The 1971 Census

THE 1971 census enumeration began on March 10, 1971 and ended on April 3, 1971. The reference date was the sunrise of April 1, 1971. The first set of Provisional Population Tables was released by the Registrar-General on April 12, 1971. This was indeed a remarkable achievement. The provisional results were compiled from the abstracts collected from over one million enumerators spread throughout the country. Provisional Population Totals were also released in each State by the Director of the Census. The total population of the big cities along with the characteristics of population like the sex ratio and literacy rates were made available in the first set of census tables.¹

The importance attached to the study of urbanization is evident from the high priority given by the Registrar-General to the tabulation of the 1971 census data. The supplementary tables to paper No. 1, 1971 were released in August 1971.² In fact the major portion of the publication giving the supplementary tables was devoted to data on the urban population. In particular the following tables may be mentioned:

Table A— Rural and Urban Composition of Population

Table B— Population, Growth Rate and Sex Ratio of cities and urban agglomerations with population size 100,000 and above

Table C— Urban Population by Size-Class of Town

The statewide primary census abstract gave the rural-urban breakdown of the total population, the density of population, the sex ratio, the decennial growth rates during 1961-71, the number of literates by sex, the literacy rates by sex, the number of total workers by sex, the working force participation rates by sex, the distribution of workers in three broad categories (cultivators, agricultural labourers and other workers) and the number of non-workers, for each state and district in India. Data were presented on all these items for individual

¹ *Census of India 1971, Paper No. 1 of 1971, Provisional Population Totals*, New Delhi, April 1971.

² *Census of India 1971 Paper No. 1, 1971 Supplement, Provisional Population Totals*, New Delhi, August 1971.

Class I cities has increased and the population of Class I cities has also increased considerably. The process of urbanization thus has been essentially a process of city-ward migration.

Table 2 gives the urban population distributed in the six classes of towns for 1961 and 1971. It will be seen that the number of Class I cities has increased from 113 to 142 during 1961-71, and the population residing in these cities has increased from 38 million to 57 million during this period.

TABLE 2—DIFFERENT SIZE-CLASS OF TOWNS AND POPULATION IN 1961 AND 1971

Population size	1961		1971	
	Number of towns	Population (in millions)	Number of towns	Population (in millions)
Class I (100 000 and over)	113	38.18	142	57.02
Class II (50,000-99,999)	138	9.37	198	13.22
Class III (20,000-49,999)	484	14.63	617	18.89
Class IV (10 000-19,999)	748	10.29	931	13.10
Class V (5 000-9,999)	760	5.71	736	5.70
Class VI (Below 5 000)	218	0.75	277	0.87
TOTAL	2,461	78.93	2,921	108.79

In Table 3 we present the number of towns in each class for 1961 and 1971 for the States in India. In 1961, in India as a whole, there were 2,461 towns (on the basis of the town group concept), while, in 1971, there were 2,921 towns. During 1961-71, there has been an increase in the number of towns in all the six categories, except Class V towns which recorded a marginal decrease.

Table 4 gives the percentage distribution of the urban population in different classes of towns for all the States in India. In almost all the States a trend towards increasing concentration of the urban population in Class I cities is observed. West Bengal must be specially mentioned in this connection. In 1961 about 57 per cent of the urban population in this State was residing in Class I cities. In 1971 the comparable percentage shot up to 70. In the other industrial States in India, namely, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Mysore and Tamil Nadu, there was also a noticeable increase in the proportion of the urban population in Class I cities. In Orissa, the proportion shot up from 13 per cent in 1961 to 32 per cent in 1971. But, as we observed in Table 3, there was only one Class I city in Orissa in 1961 while there were four such cities in 1971. While comparing these proportions it is important to realise that due to graduation of cities from one class to another (i.e. an upward mobility of these towns), there are sudden

per cent must certainly be a cause for concern, whether one calls it an urban explosion or not.

Table 1 also gives the percentage distribution of the urban population by six classes of towns according to the size of population. The most interesting feature which emerges from this table is the increasing role of Class I cities (population: 100,000 and over). In 1901 these cities accounted for 23 per cent of the total urban population, while, in 1971, more than 52 per cent of the urban population was residing in these cities. Even in one single decade (1961-71), the proportion of urban population in Class I cities has increased from 48.4 per cent to 52.4 per cent whereas in the case of towns belonging to urban Classes III, IV, V and VI, there has been a decrease in the proportion and in the case of Class II towns, there has been only a marginal increase in the proportion, from 11.9 per cent to 12.2 per cent. In fact, even if the entire period (1901-71) is considered, there is stagnation in the case of Class II and III towns, whereas there has been a substantial decline in the percentage of urban population in Class IV, V and VI towns. For example, Class II towns accounted for 11.8 per cent of the urban population in 1901 and the comparable figure in 1971 was 12.2 per cent. But in the case of Class V towns, the percentage has come down from 20.4 in 1901 to 5.2 in 1971. Part of the explanation lies in definitional changes as we have noted earlier. The 1961 census adopted a rigorous definition of "urban". This practice was followed in 1971 also. Thus, the figures of 1961 and 1971 are not vitiated by definitional changes. Therefore, the decline in the importance of Class III, IV, V and VI towns is genuine. The conclusion, therefore, emerges that the number of

TABLE 1.—TREND OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA, 1901-1971

Census year	Percentage of urban population to total population	Percentage of population in each size-class of towns to total urban population					
		Class I 100,000 & over	Class II 50,000- 99,999	Class III 20,000- 49,999	Class IV 10,000- 19,999	Class V 5,000- 9,999	Class VI below 5,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1901	10.85	22.93	11.84	16.50	22.06	20.38	6.29
1911	10.29	24.19	10.90	17.69	20.46	19.81	6.95
1921	11.18	25.31	12.43	16.89	18.91	19.03	7.43
1931	12.00	27.37	11.95	18.76	18.97	17.32	5.63
1941	13.86	35.40	11.77	17.71	16.29	15.38	3.45
1951	17.30	41.77	11.06	16.73	14.02	13.20	3.22
1961	17.98	48.37	11.89	18.53	13.03	7.23	0.95
1971	19.87	52.41	12.15	17.36	12.04	5.24	0.80

NOTE: 1. From 1901 to 1961 a town group has been classified according to total population.

2. In 1971 in respect of the following States and Union Territories, an Urban Agglomeration has been classified according to its total population:

Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Chandigarh, Delhi and Goa, Daman & Diu.

TABLE 4—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN DIFFERENT SIZE-CLASS OF TOWNS IN 1961 AND 1971

	Year	Size-Class of Towns						Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
INDIA	1961	48.4	11.9	18.5	13.0	7.2	1.0	100.0
	1971	52.4	12.2	17.4	12.0	5.2	0.8	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	1961	42.7	8.5	24.2	15.8	8.7	0.1	100.0
	1971	48.4	13.3	21.3	13.1	3.7	0.2	100.0
Assam*	1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1971	9.8	19.2	27.3	27.5	13.7	2.5	100.0
Bihar	1961	43.1	12.9	21.6	14.9	7.0	0.5	100.0
	1971	45.4	11.1	23.9	14.5	4.6	0.5	100.0
Gujarat	1961	43.4	11.7	22.5	13.2	8.5	0.7	100.0
	1971	45.0	14.9	19.2	13.5	6.9	0.5	100.0
Haryana	1961	13.9	36.8	22.8	14.9	8.2	3.4	100.0
	1971	12.8	39.8	26.1	12.5	7.8	1.0	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	1961	Nil	Nil	23.9	25.8	28.5	21.8	100.0
	1971	Nil	22.9	8.8	27.1	19.7	21.5	100.0
Jammu & Kashmir	1961	67.0	Nil	3.6	10.0	5.6	13.8	100.0
	1971	66.3	Nil	9.7	5.4	12.9	5.7	100.0
Kerala	1961	39.3	11.5	27.6	17.5	4.1	Nil	100.0
	1971	42.2	13.4	31.8	10.1	2.2	0.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	1961	39.1	8.2	20.6	16.2	14.5	1.4	100.0
	1971	45.4	9.9	18.7	14.8	10.5	0.7	100.0
Maharashtra	1961	64.9	6.9	12.3	10.6	4.9	0.4	100.0
	1971	64.7	11.4	11.4	8.8	3.4	0.3	100.0
Mysore	1961	41.2	12.6	15.9	19.8	8.1	2.4	100.0
	1971	49.3	9.3	16.0	19.4	4.8	1.2	100.0
Nagaland	1961	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	100.0	Nil	100.0
	1971	Nil	Nil	41.9	58.1	Nil	Nil	100.0
Orissa	1961	13.2	20.5	20.3	28.0	17.1	0.9	100.0
	1971	32.4	7.6	29.4	17.2	12.9	0.5	100.0
Punjab	1961	40.1	12.0	25.0	10.4	9.8	2.7	100.0
	1971	40.0	15.6	21.8	14.4	6.8	1.4	100.0
Rajasthan	1961	37.8	7.4	20.3	21.6	11.9	1.0	100.0
	1971	41.0	10.8	19.5	21.0	7.3	0.4	100.0
Tamil Nadu	1961	41.3	16.2	20.5	14.5	6.8	0.7	100.0
	1971	43.8	13.5	20.9	13.4	6.0	2.4	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	1961	54.4	11.8	16.7	11.0	5.9	0.2	100.0
	1971	57.1	10.8	16.7	10.4	4.8	0.2	100.0
West Bengal	1961	56.6	17.8	17.0	5.8	2.5	0.3	100.0
	1971	70.2	12.3	9.8	5.2	2.4	0.1	100.0

*Separate figures for Assam and Meghalaya are not available for 1961

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF TOWNS IN 1961 AND 1971 ACCORDING TO SIZE-CLASS OF TOWNS

	Year	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
INDIA	1961	113	138	484	748	760	218	2,461
	1971	142	198	617	931	756	277	2,921
Andhra Pradesh	1961	11	8	51	71	70	1	212
	1971	13	17	60	75	37	5	207
Assam*	1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1971	1	4	11	26	24	9	75
Bihar	1961	9	7	28	42	35	5	126
	1971	11	9	42	58	34	7	161
Gujarat	1961	6	10	40	53	58	8	175
	1971	7	17	45	71	68	9	217
Haryana	1961	1	7	9	14	15	12	58
	1971	2	9	14	15	20	5	65
Himachal Pradesh	1961	Nil	Nil	1	4	8	16	29
	1971	Nil	1	1	5	7	21	35
Jammu & Kashmir	1961	2	Nil	1	4	5	29	41
	1971	2	Nil	3	3	17	20	45
Kerala	1961	4	4	25	31	15	Nil	79
	1971	5	7	40	25	9	2	88
Madhya Pradesh	1961	8	5	30	55	96	16	210
	1971	11	11	39	74	95	12	242
Maharashtra	1961	13	11	45	85	74	13	241
	1971	17	26	64	98	70	14	289
Mysore	1961	6	9	30	77	57	35	214
	1971	11	10	39	99	46	26	231
Nagaland	1961	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	3	Nil	3
	1971	Nil	Nil	1	2	Nil	Nil	3
Orissa	1961	1	3	8	22	25	3	62
	1971	4	2	19	23	30	2	80
Punjab	1961	4	5	21	20	33	19	102
	1971	4	8	22	33	29	12	108
Rajasthan	1961	6	4	23	52	51	9	145
	1971	7	7	30	68	41	4	157
Tamil Nadu	1961	11	22	60	96	81	17	287
	1971	17	27	79	117	100	103	443
Uttar Pradesh	1961	17	16	52	75	74	10	244
	1971	22	20	67	90	81	13	293
West Bengal	1961	11	23	46	35	27	7	149
	1971	5	19	34	41	35	3	137
Union Territories and Other areas	1961	1	3	3	4	10	7	28
	1971	3	4	7	8	13	10	45

Separate figures for Assam and Meghalaya are not available for 1961.

TABLE 6—URBAN POPULATION IN STATES OF INDIA, 1961 AND 1971

(Figures in millions)

	<i>Population in</i>		<i>Total addition</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
	1961	1971	1961-71	growth rate
INDIA	78.93	108.79	29.86	37.8
Andhra Pradesh	6.28	8.40	2.12	33.8
Assam*	0.78	1.25	0.47	51.5
Bihar	3.91	5.65	1.74	44.5
Gujarat	5.32	7.51	2.19	41.2
Haryana	1.30	1.77	0.47	35.6
Himachal Pradesh	0.18	0.24	0.06	35.5
Jammu & Kashmir	0.59	0.84	0.25	42.0
Kerala	2.56	3.47	0.91	35.7
Madhya Pradesh	4.63	6.77	2.14	46.3
Maharashtra	11.16	15.70	4.54	40.7
Mysore	5.26	7.11	1.85	35.1
Nagaland	0.02	0.05	0.03	166.6
Orissa	1.11	1.81	0.70	63.5
Punjab	2.57	3.21	0.64	24.9
Rajasthan	3.28	4.53	1.25	38.0
Tamil Nadu	8.99	12.45	3.46	38.4
Uttar Pradesh	9.48	12.37	2.89	30.5
West Bengal	8.54	10.93	2.39	28.0
Union Territories and other areas	2.95	4.71	1.76	59.7

*Combined figures for Assam and Meghalaya

On the basis of a detailed examination of the growth rate of each of the 2,921 towns and cities in India in 1971, we have compiled Table 7 which indicates the patterns of urban growth during 1961-71. 100 towns recorded an actual decrease in population during this decade. In 1945 towns, the growth rate was below 50 per cent during the decade and in another 349 towns the growth rate was over 50 per cent. The whole gamut of growth rates can be observed in greater detail in Table 8 which gives the breakdown by the six urban classes.

TABLE 7 (contd.)

<i>Decade growth rate 1961-71</i>	<i>Number of towns and population</i>	<i>Per cent of urban population</i>	<i>Proportion of towns per 1,000</i>
New Towns	523 4 364 000	4.01	179.04
N.A.	3 116 951	0.11	1.03
Uninhabited	1	—	0.34
Sub-total	527 4 480,951	4.12	180.41
GRAND TOTAL	2,921 108 787,082	100.00	1 000.00

In Tables 9 and 10, we give the distribution of the declining towns in different States of India by the six urban classes. A detailed investigation is necessary before one can make any comments on these declining towns. In Tables 11 and 12, we give details about the new towns in 1971. A new town does not necessarily signify that it is a newly built township, the concept is that of a "census town." Very often after the reorganization of corporations and municipalities, certain areas which are included in a particular city are excluded. This will give rise to new census towns. Similarly, sometimes one town is merged with another and this leads to a reduction in the number of towns. Tables 11 and 12 were prepared by Dr. M. K. Premji in connection with an unpublished seminar paper.^{*} His figure for the total number of new towns is not the same as our figure given in Tables 7 and 8. The variations are on account of the grouping of certain towns in urban agglomeration.

Earlier we had commented on the high growth rate of the urban population in Orissa. Table 11 gives clue to this phenomenon. Over 50 per cent of the net increase in the urban population during 1961-71 in Orissa is explained by the emergence of new towns. Table 12 indicates that the majority of the new towns belong to Class V (population 5,000-9,999). In Table 10 where we gave figures for declining towns, it will be seen that the largest such towns belong to this class as well as to Class IV (population 10,000-19,999). It is, therefore, quite interesting to observe that both in terms of new towns and declining towns, the Class V towns have played an important role. An understanding of this phenomenon again calls for a detailed investigation, which is not possible at this stage.

To sum up, the 1971 census will throw up a tremendous mass of data on migration and urbanization. Some of these data will have been collected for the

* M. K. Premji "Some Empirical Observations on the New Towns of the Sixties." Paper for Seminar on First Results of the 1971 census, Indian Association for the Study of Population, Delhi, November 1971.

TABLE 7.—PATTERNS OF URBAN GROWTH, 1961-71

Decade growth rate 1961-71		Number of towns and population	Per cent of urban population	Proportion of towns per 1,000
(Percentages)				
NEGATIVE	50+	13	.07	4.45
		72,578		
	40-49	8	.12	2.74
		128,002		
	30-39	6	.06	2.05
		60,156		
	20-29	15	.16	5.14
		170,751		
	10-19	18	.19	6.17
		205,655		
	0-9	40	.53	13.69
		581,865		
SUB-TOTAL		100	1.13	34.24
		1,219,007		
	0-9	139	2.17	47.59
		2,358,014		
	10-19	438	10.79	149.95
		11,737,487		
	20-29	702	25.90	240.32
		28,181,433		
	30-39	436	17.58	149.26
		19,125,077		
	40-49	230	20.40	78.74
		22,188,494		
SUB-TOTAL		1,945	76.84	665.86
		83,590,505		
	50-59	138	8.88	47.24
		9,660,428		
	60-69	61	2.39	20.88
		2,603,623		
	70-79	35	2.43	11.99
		2,641,172		
	80-89	32	1.16	10.95
		1,266,819		
	90-99	20	0.63	6.85
		690,652		
	100+	63	2.42	21.58
		2,633,925		
SUB-TOTAL		349	17.91	119.49
		19,496,619		

(Contd.)

TABLE 8 (Contd.)

Decade growth rate	Classes of Towns						All classes		
	I	II	III	I+II+III	IV	V		VI	IV+V+VI
(Percentages)									
40-49	29 17,321,441	21 1,457,283	67 2,073,938	117 20,852,662	76 1,063,929	33 261,962	4 9,941	113 1,335,832	230 22,188,494
50-59	16 7,058,786	12 714,433	36 1,055,346	64 8,828,565	43 641,151	23 166,444	8 24,268	74 831,863	138 9,660,428
60-69	4 1,145,809	9 569,152	14 516,526	27 2,231,487	21 290,193	9 66,581	4 15,362	34 372,136	61 2,603,623
70-79	6 1,861,607	3 208,732	12 377,487	21 2,447,826	11 171,715	3 21,631	— —	14 193,346	35 2,641,172
80-89	3 629,380	2 147,948	9 285,607	14 1,062,935	11 162,466	4 33,754	3 7,664	18 203,884	32 1,266,819
90-99	1 172,536	3 165,263	7 240,476	11 578,275	6 91,802	2 16,005	1 4,570	9 112,377	20 690,652
100+	4 978,835	11 758,240	21 636,925	36 2,374,000	12 185,087	8 56,854	7 17,984	27 259,925	63 2,633,925
New Towns	1 108,012	—	31 858,688	32 966,700	97 1,216,214	246 1,738,039	148 443,047	491 3,397,300	523 4,364,000
NA	—	—	1 31,844	1 31,844	1 11,578	—	—	1 11,578	2 43,422
Total	142 57,016,458	198 13,223,110	617 18,885,483	957 89,125,051	931 13,097,780	756 5,697,716	277 866,535	1,964 19,662,031	2,921 108,787,082

TABLE 8.—PATTERNS OF URBAN GROWTH BY SIX URBAN SIZE-CLASSES, 1961-71

Decade growth rate	Classes of Towns						All classes		
	I	II	III	I+II+III	IV	V		VI	IV+V+VI
(Percentages)									
-50+	—	—	—	—	2	4	7	13	13
40-49	—	—	—	—	2,6421	24,062	22,095	72,578	72,578
30-39	—	76,143	—	76,143	13,319	31,500	7,040	51,859	128,002
20-29	—	—	—	—	1	3	1	5	6
10-19	—	—	21,361	21,361	17,379	19,509	1,907	38,795	60,156
10-9	—	—	—	—	5	6	2	13	15
	—	—	52,972	52,972	69,885	41,321	6,573	117,779	170,751
	—	—	—	—	7	4	5	16	18
	—	—	75,280	75,280	88,637	26,797	14,941	130,375	205,655
	1	—	5	6	16	11	7	34	40
	102,519	—	162,097	264,616	217,190	79,068	20,991	317,249	581,865
0-9	2	8	20	30	44	43	22	109	139
10-19	267,831	531,037	580,664	1,379,532	586,859	327,023	64,600	978,482	2,358,014
20-29	4,047,633	1,578,398	2,902,370	8,528,401	158	118	21	297	438
30-39	13,684,274	4,186,121	5,261,797	23,132,192	2,221,122	906,987	80,977	3,209,0	1,737,487
	9,637,795	2,830,360	3,752,105	16,220,260	267	156	22	445	703
					3,811,516	1,234,323	76,931	5,122,770	28,254,962
					152	79	12	243	436
					2,211,317	645,856	47,644	2,904,817	19,125,077

INDEXTIVE

(Cont'd)

(Cont'd)

TABLE 9.—NUMBER AND POPULATION OF DECLINING TOWNS IN 1971

<i>States</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>Population in 1971</i>
INDIA	100	1,219,007
Andhra Pradesh	5	62,426
Assam	4	41,373
Bihar	7	101,009
Gujarat	3	19,847
Haryana	2	120,135
Himachal Pradesh	10	36,005
Jammu & Kashmir	1	752
Kerala	9	150,036
Madhya Pradesh	7	54,848
Maharashtra	8	96,669
Mysore	6	127,044
Nagaland	—	—
Orissa	5	35,350
Punjab	6	110,766
Rajasthan	5	40,396
Tamil Nadu	8	60,249
Uttar Pradesh	6	39,975
West Bengal	7	119,204
Union Territories	1	2,923

first time in the history of census operations. The study of urbanization, therefore, is bound to be rewarding.

In an earlier chapter we have commented on the process of urbanization during 1901-61. Every decade has a theme: famine, plague, influenza epidemic, depression, war and partition. The 1951-61 decade was, in a way, the first "normal" decade of urbanization and yet the growth of urban population was much less than anticipated in view of the increased tempo of industrialization. The 1961-71 decade has witnessed an acceleration of the tempo of urbanization in terms of the rate of growth of the urban population. In fact, if adjustments are made for the partition effect, this decade has recorded the highest ever rate of growth of urban population in India. It is difficult to say if 1961-71 was a normal decade in the context of economic development. During this decade, there were three wars: the Chinese aggression in 1962, the Pakistani aggression

TABLE 10.—NUMBER OF TOWNS RECORDING A DECREASE IN POPULATION BETWEEN 1961 AND 1971 BY STATES AND SIX URBAN SIZE-CLASSES

States	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
INDIA -	1 (102,519)	1 (76,143)	10 (311,710)	32 (432,831)	32 (222,257)	24 (73,547)	100 (1,219,007)
Andhra Pradesh	—	—	—	4 (57,260)	1 (5,160)	—	5 (62,426)
Assam	—	—	—	2 (32,231)	—	2 (9,142)	4 (41,373)
Bihar	—	—	1 (41,750)	4 (54,532)	—	2 (4,727)	7 (101,009)
Gujarat	—	—	—	—	2 (15,085)	1 (4,762)	3 (19,847)
Haryana	1 (102,519)	—	—	1 (17,616)	—	—	2 (120,135)
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	3 (20,139)	7 (15,866)	10 (36,005)
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	—	—	1 (752)	1 (752)
Kerala	—	—	3 (75,109)	5 (67,691)	1 (7,236)	—	9 (150,036)
Madhya Pradesh	—	—	—	3 (34,498)	2 (11,462)	2 (8,898)	2 (54,848)
Maharashtra	—	—	1 (30,178)	3 (40,114)	4 (26,377)	—	8 (96,669)
Mysore	—	1 (76,143)	—	3 (42,215)	1 (5,944)	1 (2,742)	6 (127,044)
Nagaland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orissa	—	—	—	—	5 (35,350)	—	5 (35,350)
Punjab	—	—	3 (96,641)	—	1 (6,407)	2 (7,718)	6 (110,766)
Rajasthan	—	—	—	2 (21,314)	2 (14,606)	1 (4,476)	5 (40,396)
Tamil Nadu	—	—	—	3 (15,466)	2 (14,933)	3 (9,845)	8 (60,249)
Uttar Pradesh	—	—	—	1 (13,280)	4 (24,999)	1 (1,696)	6 (39,975)
West Bengal	—	—	2 (68,032)	1 (16,618)	4 (34,554)	—	7 (119,204)
Union Territories	—	—	—	—	—	1 (2,923)	1 (2,923)

NOTE. The figures in brackets indicate the population of towns in each category in 1971

TABLE 11.—NUMBER AND POPULATION OF NEW TOWNS, 1971

<i>States</i>	<i>No. of new towns</i>	<i>Percentage of towns among all towns</i>	<i>Population of new towns</i>	<i>Population of new towns as percentage of the</i>	
				<i>Total urban population</i>	<i>Net urban growth</i>
INDIA	575	19.68	4,940,231	4.54	16.55
Andhra Pradesh	39	18.84	393,773	4.69	18.56
Assam & Meghalaya	19	22.75	139,054	10.05	29.59
Bihar	50	31.06	684,896	12.11	39.36
Gujarat	49	22.58	453,466	6.04	20.70
Haryana	4	6.15	27,659	1.56	5.94
Himachal Pradesh	7	20.00	19,135	7.92	30.20
Jammu & Kashmir	7	15.56	21,893	2.60	8.78
Kerala	21	23.86	332,490	9.59	36.49
Madhya Pradesh	31	12.81	202,913	3.00	9.47
Maharashtra	24	8.30	209,847	1.34	4.62
Mysore	24	10.39	239,377	3.36	12.95
Orissa	22	27.50	355,524	19.59	50.44
Punjab	2	1.85	23,861	0.74	3.73
Rajasthan	12	7.64	116,288	2.57	9.32
Tamil Nadu	155	34.99	874,981	7.03	25.32
Uttar Pradesh	47	16.04	360,765	2.92	12.49
West Bengal	39	28.47	334,995	3.07	14.03

NOTE: The Union Territories are not listed here.

in 1965 and the Pakistani aggression again in 1971. During this decade, India passed through some of the worst years of drought, massive influx of refugees from Bangla Desh, apart from the usual share of floods and other natural calamities. After the completion of the Third Five Year Plan, there was a plan holiday. This was a setback to the process of planning and the Fourth Five Year Plan was launched only in 1969-70. Our preliminary examination of the trend of urbanization during the last decade thus reveals a hopeful sign that many of our industrial centres, steel cities, port towns, etc. have recorded a high rate of growth. The investments made on industrialization, especially during the Second Five Year Plan, have made some impact on individual urban centres. But we must hasten to add that, as we close this chapter, one of the most press-

TABLE 12.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEW TOWNS BY SIZE-CLASSES, 1971

States	Size-Classes					
	I (100 000+)	II (50 000- 99 999)	III (20 000- 49 999)	IV (10 000- 19,999)	V (5 000- 9 999)	VI (Below 5 000)
INDIA	1	2	33	108	265	165
Andhra Pradesh	—	—	5	9	17	8
Assam	—	—	—	5	11	3
Bihar	—	2	5	15	22	6
Gujarat	—	—	4	6	23	6
Haryana	—	—	—	—	4	—
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	—	1	6
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	—	2	5
Kerala	—	—	7	8	5	1
Madhya Pradesh	—	—	—	2	24	5
Maharashtra	—	—	3	3	10	8
Mysore	—	—	1	14	4	5
Orissa	1	—	2	3	15	1
Punjab	—	—	—	1	—	1
Rajasthan	—	—	—	6	6	—
Tamil Nadu	—	—	3	17	50	85
Uttar Pradesh	—	—	1	10	30	5
West Bengal	—	—	2	9	24	4
Goa, Daman & Diu	—	—	—	—	2	8
Manipur	—	—	—	—	4	3
N.E.F.A.	—	—	—	—	1	3
Pondicherry	—	—	—	—	—	2

ing problems before the country is industrial stagnation and the very low rate of growth of industrial production. The Finance Ministry's Economic Survey for 1971-72 points out that the recent rate of growth has been substantially lower than the annual rate of industrial expansion envisaged in the Fourth Plan.⁴

* Government of India. *Economic Survey 1971-72*. New Delhi: March 1972, p. 3.

CHAPTER NINE

PROJECTIONS OF URBAN POPULATION, 1971-81

THE history of population projections is, on the whole, a history of failure. The 1961 census count revealed that even the maximum projected figure was on the low side compared to the actual count whereas the projected urban population was much higher than that revealed by the census count. The 1971 census revealed that the Expert Committee's (1964) projection was higher than the actual count and this was true of the urban population also.

There has been much excitement about the 1971 census which counted 14 million fewer persons than projected by the Expert Committee. Is this because of a higher degree of under-enumeration in the 1971 census or the success of family planning or the failure on the health front or the combination of all these factors? Is it because the Expert Committee's assumptions were *not realistic*? Or is there some other mystery? The Government of India have appointed another Expert Committee to look into the matter.

Accuracy of Urban Projections for 1971

But, interestingly enough, the Sub-Committee of the Expert Committee on Population Projections which was entrusted with the task of making urban projections for 1971 and 1981 had come to the conclusion that the proportion of urban population to the total population in 1971 would be 19.93 per cent whereas the actual census count of 1971 revealed an urban proportion of 19.87 per cent. Thus the magnitude of error in projecting the urban ratio was 0.3 per cent only. Commenting on this, Mr. A. Chandrasekhar observes in his report:

It does credit to the Projection Committee that despite the various difficulties pointed out in its report about making the urban projections on account of varying definitions and that recognition and derecognition of certain towns from census to census, the Committee's estimated proportion of urban population to total population by 1971 has almost hit the bull's eye.¹

¹ *Census of India, Paper No. 1, Supplement, Provisional Population Totals* by A. Chandrasekhar, p. 6.

Now that the Government has appointed a Committee to enquire why there is a gap between the Expert Committee's projection of the total population in 1971 and the actual count in the 1971 census, will the Government also appoint a Committee to enquire why the projection of the urban population was dead right?

We must hasten to add that the urban population was projected by applying the projected urban *ratio* to the total population and insofar as the census count was lower than the projected population, the urban population was lower accordingly. While the projected ratio of U/T and the actual ratio of U/T was the same (19.9 per cent), the actual urban population in 1971 was 108.8 million² while the projected population was 111.5 million. Thus, the projected figure was an over-estimate of the order of 2.4 per cent.

Technique of Projection

From the point of view of methodology of projection of urban population, it will be worthwhile to examine the technique and the assumptions adopted by the Sub-Committee in 1964 in projecting the urban population in 1971. The detailed methodology along with the figures is given in the Report on the Projections issued by the Registrar General in 1969.³ Here we shall briefly present the methodology based on this Report.

This Sub-Committee took advantage of the work done by Mr. A. Mitra in his paper on a functional classification of India's towns in 1961 which he presented at an all India Seminar on Population at the Institute of Economic Growth in 1964. Mr. Mitra had classified all the towns of 1961 into four categories as shown in the chart on the next page.⁴

It is customary for the census to classify towns into six urban classes according to population size, but the Sub-Committee considered only two broad categories: (1) towns with population 50,000 and over, and (2) towns with population below 50,000.

By cross-classifying towns by functional group and population size group, eight groups were formed.

In projecting the ratio of U/T, the period of accelerating urban growth, namely, the 1931-61 period, was considered. In the trend analysis it was found expedient to consider only those towns which could be identified in each census from 1931 onwards. These common towns (*U_c*) covered roughly 90 per cent of the urban population. The ratio of *U_c* to total population (*T*) was not affected by definitional changes.

In making the urban projection, the Sub-Committee adopted the method of

² According to the Final Population Totals, the urban population in 1971 was 109.1 million. *Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1972: Final Population*.

³ Office of the Registrar-General, India. *Report on the Population Projections Worked out under Guidance of the Expert Committee, set up by the Planning Commission under the Chairmanship of the Registrar-General, India*, New Delhi, 1969.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190. See also A. Mitra, "A Functional Classification of India's Towns, in *Pattern of Population Change, 1951-61*, Ashish Bose (Ed.), Delhi, 1961, pp. 261-86.

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF TOWNS

Category	Group of towns	Census Industrial Category of workers	Criteria for group
1	2	3	4
A	Manufacturing town	III, IV, V & VI	The percentage of workers in the four census industrial categories, specified in col. (3), together exceeds the percentage of workers under B or C by 20% or more.
B	Trade and transport town	VII & VIII	The percentage of workers in the two census industrial categories, specified in col. (3), together exceeds the percentage of workers under A or C by 20% or more.
C	Service town	IX	The percentage of workers in census industrial category specified in col. (3) exceeds the percentage of workers under A or B by 20% or more.
D	Agricultural town	I & II	The towns where proportion of workers in categories, specified in col. (3) remains higher than that of workers in any of the other three groups A, B & C.

curve fitting by least squares to U/T for the period 1931-61 and the observed trend was extended up to 1981. This was done with reference to the eight groups just described above.

The trend of U_c/T for these eight groups was analysed for the period 1931-61 regardless of the corresponding classification in the censuses earlier to 1961. When plotted in graphs the proportions U_c/T indicated in almost all cases a straight line trend which was also substantiated by regression analysis. A straight line was then fitted for the eight subgroups separately, State by State, which were then extended up to 1981. Since the trend lines related only to U_c/T, the lines were adjusted to pass through the point giving the actual proportion of all towns to the total population for the year 1961 under each of the eight categories by a simple process of proportionate adjustment, before the projected proportions were read off for further calculation.

The Sub-Committee gave special thought to the States of Assam, Bihar and Orissa where the urban proportions were much lower than the all-India figure. The trend values for these States were inflated by 25 per cent on account of the emergence of several new towns in these States and the increasing tempo of industrialization. This no doubt was an arbitrary adjustment.

Comparison of Projected and Actual Urban Population

We may now compare the projected ratio of U/T and the actual ratio, State by State (Table 1), and also the projected urban population and the actual urban population, State by State (Table 2)

TABLE 1.—PROJECTED AND ACTUAL URBAN RATIO, 1971

<i>States</i>	<i>Projected U/T</i>	<i>Actual U/T</i>	<i>Difference Actual minus Projected</i>
INDIA	19.9	19.9	0
Andhra Pradesh	19.2	19.4	+0.2
Assam	10.1	8.4	-1.7
Bihar	10.5	10.0	-0.5
Gujarat	27.2	28.1	+0.9
Haryana	18.7	17.8	-0.8
Jammu & Kashmir	18.1	18.3	+0.2
Kerala	16.2	16.3	+0.1
Madhya Pradesh	15.9	16.3	+0.4
Madras	29.0	30.3	+1.3
Maharashtra	31.5	31.2	-0.3
Mysore	24.7	24.3	-0.4
Orissa	7.7	8.3	+0.6
Punjab	25.0	23.8	-1.2
Rajasthan	17.0	17.6	+0.6
Uttar Pradesh	14.0	14.0	0
West Bengal	26.7	24.6	-2.1
Delhi	92.3	89.8	-2.5

It may be noted that the arbitrary adjustment factor in the case of Assam, Bihar and Orissa was responsible for inflating the trend values which were 9.93 in Assam, 10.07 in Bihar and 7.32 in Orissa by 25 per cent in each case. The actual census count, however, revealed a much higher projected urban ratio compared to the actual ratio in the case of Assam and a slightly higher ratio in the case of Bihar. But in the case of Orissa, the actual urban ratio was higher than the projected ratio. A detailed look at the growth of towns in Orissa shows that during 1961-71 the steel city of Rourkela recorded a growth rate of 91 per cent, while the capital city of Bhubaneswar recorded a growth rate of over 176 per cent. Among small towns, Koraput recorded a growth rate of over 190 per cent. There were a large number of new small towns also. It must be noted that in terms of absolute difference between the projected population and the actual population in Orissa the difference was very marginal, namely, 0.1 million.

The economic stagnation of West Bengal and also the disturbed political conditions might have contributed to the smaller ratio of 24.6 per cent, revealed by the 1971 census compared to the projected urban ratio (26.7%) Table 2

TABLE 2.—PROJECTED AND ACTUAL URBAN POPULATION, 1971

<i>States</i>	<i>Projected U/T</i>	<i>Actual U/T</i>	<i>Difference: Actual minus Projected</i>
INDIA	111.5	108.8	-2.7
Andhra Pradesh	8.4	8.4	0
Assam	1.6	1.3	-0.3
Bihar	6.2	5.7	-0.5
Gujarat	7.4	7.5	+0.1
Haryana	1.9	1.8	-0.1
Jammu & Kashmir	0.7	0.8	+0.1
Kerala	3.5	3.5	0
Madhya Pradesh	6.6	6.8	+0.2
Madras	11.6	12.4	+0.8
Maharashtra	16.1	15.7	-0.4
Mysore	7.4	7.1	-0.3
Orissa	1.7	1.8	+0.1
Punjab	3.8	3.2	-0.6
Rajasthan	4.6	4.5	-0.1
Uttar Pradesh	12.9	12.4	-0.5
West Bengal	12.2	10.9	-1.3
Delhi	4.0	3.6	-0.4

reveals that in terms of absolute numbers, the greatest discrepancy between the projected population and the actual population is in West Bengal.

Projections by Size of Towns

On the whole, it can be said, therefore, that the method adopted by the Sub-Committee for projecting the urban population in 1971, which used both functional type and population size simultaneously, did succeed in projecting the urban ratio with a fair degree of accuracy. It is of further interest to note that, according to the projections of urban population by size-classes, the projected urban population of towns with population 50,000 and over in 1971 was 69.4 million while that of towns with population below 50,000 was 42.1 million. The actual census count revealed that the population of towns with population 50,000 and over was 70.2 million while the total population of towns with population below 50,000 was 38.6 million. It will be seen that the projection was remarkably correct in the case of Class I and II towns, and the difference between the actual figure and the projected figure was only 0.8 million. In the case of smaller towns, however, the difference was of the order of 3.5 million. The 1971 census data on urban population confirm the continuing dominance of cities with population 100,000 and over and the stagnation of a large number of medium size and small towns.

The increasing dominance of cities with population 100,000 and over will be clear from Table 3.

TABLE 3—ROLE OF CLASS I CITIES (100 000+)
CENSUS YEARS 1901-71

	<i>Percentage of population in Class I cities</i>
1901	22.9
1911	24.2
1921	25.3
1931	27.4
1941	35.4
1951	41.8
1961	48.4
1971	52.4

The process of urbanization in India thus has been essentially a process of migration to big cities and there has been a structural stagnation of towns with population below 100,000. To give a few figures, in 1901 Class II towns (50,000-100,000) accounted for 11.8 per cent of the urban population while in 1971 the comparable figure was 12.2 per cent. For Class III towns (20,000-50,000) the figures are 16.5 per cent in 1901 and 17.4 per cent in 1971. The group of towns with population below 20,000 suffered heavily during these 7 decades. Class IV towns with population 10,000-20,000, accounted for 22.1 per cent of the urban population in 1901, the comparable figure was only 12.0 per cent in 1971. In the case of Class V towns (5,000-10,000) the comparable figures are 20.4 per cent in 1901 and 5.2 per cent in 1971. Finally, the Class VI towns with population below 5,000, which accounted for 6.3 per cent of the urban population in 1901, accounted for only 0.3 per cent of the urban population in 1971.

It may be noted that the Class I towns, which accounted for 52.4 per cent of the urban population in 1971, were responsible for 63 per cent (18.3 million) of the net increase (29.9 million) in urban population during 1961-71.

It does appear that in projecting the urban ratio on the basis of the trend of urbanization from 1931 onwards, the Sub Committee arrived at fairly accurate projections in the case of Class I and II towns. But perhaps the ratio projected for the smaller category of towns needed some modification in view of the stagnation of medium and small towns. For future projection, some adjustment should be made for these groups of towns.

Implications of Past Trends for Future Projections

Finally, we wish to point out that in the last four decades, the growth of urban population has been between 3.2 to 3.8 per cent per year and in making future projections, one must also consider if this high growth rate can be sustained for several more decades. There is bound to be a tapering of this growth rate. In Table 4 we give the urban growth rates as revealed by the censuses and as adjusted by us.

TABLE 4.—DECADE GROWTH RATES OF URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA, 1901-1971

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Urban Growth Rate</i>	<i>Our Estimate</i>
1901-11	0.4	
1911-21	8.3	
1921-31	19.1	
1931-41	32.0	
1941-51	41.4	35.4*
1951-61	26.4	34.0**
1961-71	37.8	

*Adjusted for net refugee migration on account of partition of India.

**Adjusted for definitional changes in 1961.

It will be observed that during 1941-51, the urban growth rate recorded in the census was the highest ever, namely, 41.4 per cent. However, we have attempted to adjust the impact of refugee migration and our estimate of the growth rate adjusted for such migrations is 35.4. Thus it is the last decade, 1961-71, which has recorded the highest ever growth of urban population, namely, 37.8 per cent.

Projections for 1981

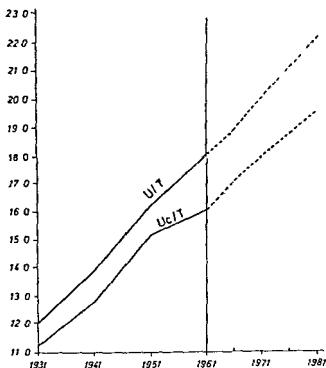
In the light of the 1971 census data, the projection of the total as well as urban population will be revised by the Registrar-General's Committee but this must await the publication of detailed data in respect of age groups and other characteristics. Nevertheless, it should be useful to present briefly the Expert Committee's (1964) estimates for the urban population of 1981.

The urban population in 1981 is expected to be 152 million. In other words, the urban population is expected nearly to double itself during just two decades, 1961-81 as will be seen from Table 5.

During 1961-81, the total population is expected to increase by 58.2 per cent, the rural population by 50.6 per cent and the urban population by 92.5 per cent. In terms of the urban proportion, however, the increase does not look spectacular—from 19.9 per cent in 1971 to 21.9 per cent in 1981. Commenting on the growth rate of urban population, the Expert Committee observes:

Column 6 of the table shows that the growth rate of the urban population increases up to 1971 and declines thereafter. The peak in 1966-71 should not be taken to imply that the tempo of urbanization would diminish after 1971. On the other hand, this is consistent with the growth pattern of the total population which had been projected on the assumption that fertility will be almost constant up to 1971 and would fall steadily thereafter. A comparison of columns 6 to 8 would make this clear. Since it is reasonable to expect that the fall in fertility in the rural population would be preceded by a fall in fertility in the urban population, the changes in urban fertility are likely to be more drastic than in the rural population. This brings out that the increasing

urbanization combined with steadily decreasing natural increase results in the dampening of the overall urban growth rate after 1971. The growth rate figures given in column 9 of the table relating to a population projection on the basis of constant fertility throughout the period 1961-81, further illustrates the point. It may be seen that in this case, the urban growth rate is steadily increasing, reaching a maximum in 1976-81.*



Ratio of population of all towns (U) and population of towns (Uc) common to all the four censuses to total population (T) during 1931-61

U—urban population,

Uc—urban population of towns common to the four censuses, viz. 1931, 1941, 1951 and 1961,

T—total population (rural+urban)

The broken lines indicate the extension from 1961-81 of the fitted straight line

It will be clear that the average annual growth rate of the urban population is expected to decline during 1971-81 not on account of a lower pace of urbanization but because of the anticipated fall in fertility. In fact, under assumptions of unchanging fertility, the rate of growth of urban population is highest for the period 1976-81, namely, 4 per cent per year

* Op cit., p 20

TABLE 5.—GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION DURING 1961-81
AND OTHER RELATED DATA

Year	Projected population (in millions)			Proportion of urban population to total population (%)	Average annual growth rate (%)			Average annual growth rate (%) of urban population with unchanging fertility†
	Urban	Rural	Total		Urban	Rural	Total	
1951	58*	203*	361	16.08*	—	—	—	—
1961	79	360	439	17.97	3.12	1.75	1.97	3.12
1966	94	401	495	18.91	3.46	2.18	2.41	3.64
1971	112	448	560	19.93	3.58	2.23	2.49	3.91
1976	132	498	630	20.90	3.38	2.16	2.40	3.97
1981	152	543	695	21.87	2.91	1.72	1.97	4.07

*Rough estimates.

† Derived by applying the proportions at Col. 5 to a projection of total population by IAMR on the assumption of constant fertility and decreasing mortality during 1961-86, vide Institute of Applied Manpower Research Working Paper No. 7/1965—National Population Growth Perspective, p. 2, para 4.

SOURCE: Report of the Expert Committee (1964), p. 20.

In Table 6 we give the projections of urban population by the functional type of towns.

TABLE 6.—PROJECTED POPULATION IN TOWNS BY THE ALL-INDIA FUNCTIONAL
CLASSIFICATION, 1961-81

Year	Functional Classification				Total
	Manufacturing	Trade and Transport	Services	Agriculture	
1961	33.7	9.2	29.7	6.3	78.9
1966	40.1	10.9	35.3	7.2	93.5
1971	48.2	13.1	42.1	8.1	111.5
1976	57.2	15.5	49.9	9.1	131.7
1981	66.2	18.1	57.7	10.0	152.0

SOURCE: Op. cit., p. 21.

It will be seen that the population of manufacturing, trade and transport towns is expected to double during 1961-81, while service and agricultural towns will grow at a comparatively slower rate.

Table 7 gives the distribution of projected urban population by size of towns.

Statewise Projections

In Table 8 we give the statewise projections of urban population for 1976 and 1981.

TABLE 7.—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN TOWNS ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE, 1961-81

Year	Classes I & II	Classes III to VI	Total
1961	47.5	31.4	78.9
1966	57.2	36.3	93.5
1971	69.4	42.1	111.5
1976	83.1	48.6	131.7
1981	97.1	54.9	152.0
Percentage variation 1961-81	104.4	74.3	92.5

SOURCE: Op cit., p. 21.

TABLE 8.—PROJECTIONS OF URBAN POPULATION OF STATES, 1976 & 1981

States	Projected Population (in thousands)		Average Annual Geometric Growth Rate (%)		Proportion of Urban to total population	
	1976	1981	1971-75	1976-80	1976	1981
ALL INDIA	131,731	151,989	3.38	2.91	20.90	21.37
Andhra Pradesh	9,745	11,043	2.95	2.54	20.05	20.02
Assam	2,092	2,633	5.41	4.66	11.23	12.41
Bihar	7,636	9,183	4.36	3.76	11.52	12.54
Gujarat	8,636	9,863	3.19	2.69	27.97	28.70
Haryana*	2,303	2,691	3.70	3.17	19.37	20.09
Jammu & Kashmir	823	901	2.09	1.87	18.85	19.59
Kerala	4,073	4,619	3.05	2.53	16.68	17.21
Madhya Pradesh	7,784	8,996	3.43	2.93	16.63	17.41
Madras	13,110	14,506	2.49	2.05	30.09	31.22
Maharashtra	19,073	22,040	3.47	2.93	33.19	34.85
Mysore	7,375	8,683	3.33	2.35	25.92	27.13
Orissa	2,076	2,459	4.02	3.44	8.45	9.15
Punjab*	4,521	5,285	3.68	3.18	25.92	26.89
Rajasthan	5,302	6,034	3.11	2.62	17.30	17.63
Uttar Pradesh	14,921	16,964	2.97	2.60	14.46	15.00
West Bengal	14,553	16,902	3.52	3.04	27.85	28.98
Delhi	5,195	6,438	5.17	4.38	94.00	95.75

*The urban projection up to 1981 was made for the erstwhile State of Punjab. The 1961 break-up of erstwhile Punjab population into its four components, viz. Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh and portion ceded to Himachal Pradesh, was obtained from the S.C.O. Punjab. The proportion of urban population of each component area to the total urban population of erstwhile Punjab as of 1961 was applied uniformly to the projected urban population of all the years.

SOURCE: Op cit., pp. 148-49

The projected urban population according to the functional type of towns is given in Table 9.

The Expert Committee has also made projections by age group which we have not considered here. Projections are also available for the rural and urban labour force but in view of the complex methodological problems of comparing data on "workers" collected in the censuses of 1961 and 1971, we have not discussed these projections. When the detailed tables for the 1971 census are available, a new set of projections for the working force will have to be attempted.

TABLE 9.—URBAN POPULATION ACCORDING TO FUNCTIONAL TYPE, 1981
(population in thousand)

<i>States</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Trade & Transport</i>	<i>Manufacture</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>
ALL INDIA	57,744	18,068	66,157	10,017
Andhra Pradesh	5,210	1,224	3,115	1,494
Assam	1,363	1,061	196	13
Bihar	4,085	858	3,437	803
Gujarat	2,732	526	3,766	839
Haryana*	1,024	598	966	103
Jammu & Kashmir	810	Nil	18	73
Kerala	3,011	38	1,502	67
Madhya Pradesh	1,700	899	5,906	491
Madras	5,785	599	7,142	980
Maharashtra	4,876	639	14,647	1,878
Mysore	2,428	48	5,870	1,651
Orissa	1,832	131	375	121
Punjab*	2,011	1,174	1,898	203
Rajasthan	3,004	785	1,321	924
Uttar Pradesh	8,086	2,149	6,503	226
West Bengal	2,476	7,208	7,104	117
Delhi	6,438	Nil	Nil	Nil

*See footnote to Table 8.

SOURCE: Op. cit., pp. 174-75.

PART FOUR

Internal Migration

The projected urban population according to the functional type of towns is given in Table 9.

The Expert Committee has also made projections by age group which we have not considered here. Projections are also available for the rural and urban labour force but in view of the complex methodological problems of comparing data on "workers" collected in the censuses of 1961 and 1971, we have not discussed these projections. When the detailed tables for the 1971 census are available, a new set of projections for the working force will have to be attempted.

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Jammu & Kashmir	810	Nil	18	73
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SOURCE: Op. cit., pp. 174-75.

CHAPTER TEN

MIGRATION STREAMS IN INDIA

WE PROPOSE to present an over all picture of internal migration in India in terms of the origin, direction, distance and volume of the migration streams, based on an analysis of the 1961 census data.¹ Our object is to highlight some aspects about which we were completely in the dark in the past on account of the non availability of data. Some of the issues raised here need detailed investigation. In fact, the data thrown up by the 1961 census presented a challenge and an opportunity to migration analysts to set at rest a number of speculative and facile generalizations on the process of urbanization in India.

The 1961 Census Data

Before we pass on to the tables we shall make a few brief observations on the scope of the data. As in earlier censuses, the migration data in the 1961 census are based on place of birth data and the limitations of migration analysis on place of birth data are well known. However, there were at least four significant areas of improvement in this census. (i) data on the rural/urban breakdown of the place of birth were obtained and cross-classified by the rural/urban breakdown of the place of enumeration, (ii) data on duration of residence of migrants were collected which throw light on the trend of migration, unlike in earlier censuses which presented data on life-time migration only, (iii) the 1961 census recorded movements from the place of birth at the individual village, town and city level so that it is possible to study short-distance migration, even from one village to another within a district, and (iv) separate tables have been prepared for migrants, especially migrants to cities with population of 100 000 and over and it is possible to get a fairly comprehensive picture of the characteristics of these migrants.

Internal Migration

It is generally accepted that the volume of internal migration in India is very small and that it has been always so, as will be seen in Table I.

¹ All tables presented here are computed from *Census of India 1961, Vol. I Part II-C (iii) India. Migration Tables*, Delhi, 1966.

Migration and Distance

On the basis of 1961 data, it is possible to isolate three types of migration which are roughly indicative of the relationship between distance and migration

- (i) *Short distance migration* Persons born outside the place of enumeration but within the district of enumeration (intra district migration),
- (ii) *Medium-distance migration* Persons born outside the district but within the state of enumeration (inter district or intra state migration) and
- (iii) *Long-distance migration* Persons born in states of India beyond the state of enumeration (inter state migration)

In a detailed analysis one must, however, consider the geographical location of the districts. The rough picture of relative share of each of these categories is given in Table 3

TABLE 3—PER CENT OF TOTAL MIGRANTS BY MIGRATION TYPE

<i>Migration type</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Short-distance	67.8	54.4	73.8
Medium-distance	21.4	26.8	19.0
Long-distance	10.8	18.8	7.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Thus, a little over half of the male migration and about three fourths of the female migration is short distance migration

Rural/Urban Flows

On the basis of the cross classification of data on migration by place of birth and place of residence and considering the rural/urban breakdown, we can isolate the following four migration streams (i) rural to rural, (ii) rural to urban, (iii) urban to urban, and (iv) urban to rural

There was also a small category of persons whose place of birth could not be classified but we have ignored this category in our calculations

It may be noted that in all our computations we have excluded migrants from abroad as this study concerns internal migration only. But it must be remembered that while, in the country as a whole, immigration from abroad is not important, this is not true for individual cities where migration from Pakistan is quite considerable on account of the partition of India in 1947. There is also the tricky problem of persons who were born in pre-partitioned India in areas which now constitute Pakistan. These persons are immigrants only in a technical sense. Table 4 gives the relative share of each of these four migration streams.

Interestingly enough, the predominant form of migration in India is rural to rural female migration and even in the case of males, rural to rural migration accounts for well over half the total migration

TABLE 1.—INTERNAL MIGRATION IN INDIA

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Per cent of persons enumerated in a State or Province different from the one in which they were born to total population</i>
1891	3.8
1901	3.3
1911	3.6
1921	3.7
1931	3.6
1951	3.0
1961	3.3

SOURCE: Figures for 1891 to 1931 are taken from Kingsley Davis: *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 108. The figures for 1951 and 1961 are computed by us from *Census of India 1951, Vol. I, Part II-A* and *Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-C (ii)*.

But, interestingly enough, if we consider persons born outside the place of enumeration as migrants, we get a very different picture of migration. Considered this way, the percentage of migrants to total population in 1961 is 30.7 and not 3.3. At this stage, we do not propose to enter into any controversy as to who is a migrant. The fact remains that the 1961 census reveals that mobility in India is quite considerable: about one-third of the total population was enumerated outside their place of birth.

Marriage Migration of Females

To understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to consider the sex breakdown of migrants. The predominant female migration in India is what may be called "marriage migration" (on account of village exogamy in several parts of India) and "associational migration" (accompanying their migrant husbands). Economic causes are relatively unimportant in India and, even in the big cities, female workers constitute only a small proportion of the total female migrants.

TABLE 2—PER CENT OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS TO TOTAL FEMALE MIGRANTS IN MILLION-PLUS CITIES, 1961

<i>Cities</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Greater Bombay	10.9
Calcutta	9.7
Delhi	5.7
Madras	8.5
Ahmedabad	7.0
Hyderabad	16.8
Bangalore	13.4
Kanpur	4.2

for the largest number of migrants in regard to short- and medium-distance migration and that only in the case of long-distance migration does rural to urban migration become the most prominent form. But this is not true in the case of female migration, for which, regardless of distance, rural to rural migration is the most important type.

Annual Migration

So far we have discussed only life-time migration. The 1961 census collected data on duration of residence of migrants. We shall consider here migrants with duration of residence "less than one year" as a measure of annual migration. The data are presented in Table 6.

What strikes one at once is the large volume of yearly migration, namely 13.3 million, revealed by Table 6. There are also interesting differences in the pattern of yearly migration and life time migration as revealed by a comparison of

TABLE 6—ANNUAL (1960-61) MIGRATION STREAMS IN INDIA

Type of migration stream	Population in thousands			Per cent distribution		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
I. Short-distance (within the district)						
A. Rural to rural	5,734	2,216	3,518	43.18	34.49	51.32
B. Rural to urban	945	536	409	7.12	8.34	5.97
C. Urban to urban	380	200	180	2.86	3.11	2.63
D. Urban to rural	374	183	191	2.82	2.85	2.79
SUB-TOTAL	7,433	3,135	4,298	55.98	48.79	62.71
II. Medium-distance (within the state)						
E. Rural to rural	2,058	978	1,080	15.50	15.22	15.76
F. Rural to urban	841	513	328	6.33	7.98	4.79
G. Urban to urban	598	320	278	4.50	4.98	4.06
H. Urban to rural	274	146	128	2.06	2.27	1.87
SUB-TOTAL	3,771	1,957	1,814	28.39	30.45	26.48
III. Long-distance (between states)						
I. Rural to rural	819	519	300	6.16	8.08	4.38
J. Rural to urban	657	458	199	4.95	7.13	2.90
K. Urban to urban	459	272	187	3.46	4.23	2.73
L. Urban to rural	141	84	57	1.06	1.32	0.80
SUB-TOTAL	2,076	1,333	743	15.63	20.76	10.81
GRAND TOTAL	13,280	6,425	6,855	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 4.—PER CENT OF TOTAL MIGRANTS BY MIGRATION TYPE

<i>Migration stream</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Rural-rural	73.7	56.7	81.3
Rural-urban	14.6	25.7	9.7
Urban-urban	8.1	13.0	5.8
Urban-rural	3.6	4.6	3.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Twelve Types of Migration Streams

If we consider distance and rural/urban flows simultaneously, we get twelve types of migration streams. Table 5 presents the detailed data for each of these streams. It will be seen that in the case of males, rural to rural migration accounts

TABLE 5.—LIFE-TIME MIGRATION STREAMS IN INDIA

<i>Type of migration stream</i>	<i>Population in thousands</i>			<i>Per cent distribution</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
I. Short-distance (within the district)						
A. Rural to rural	77,521	16,637	60,884	57.67	40.15	65.49
B. Rural to urban	8,231	3,740	4,481	6.12	9.02	4.82
C. Urban to urban	2,763	1,229	1,534	2.06	2.97	1.65
D. Urban to rural	2,652	953	1,699	1.97	2.30	1.82
SUB-TOTAL	91,157	22,559	68,598	67.82	54.44	73.78
II. Medium-distance (within the state)						
E. Rural to rural	16,243	4,676	11,567	12.09	11.28	12.45
F. Rural to urban	6,577	3,647	2,930	4.89	8.80	3.15
G. Urban to urban	4,444	2,162	2,282	3.31	5.22	2.45
H. Urban to rural	1,511	615	896	1.12	1.48	0.96
SUB-TOTAL	28,775	11,100	17,675	21.41	26.78	19.01
III. Long-distance (between states)						
I. Rural to rural	5,336	2,201	3,135	3.97	5.31	3.38
J. Rural to urban	4,882	3,246	1,636	3.63	7.84	1.76
K. Urban to urban	3,612	2,018	1,594	2.69	4.87	1.71
L. Urban to rural	652	317	335	0.48	0.76	0.36
SUB-TOTAL	14,482	7,781	6,701	10.77	18.78	7.21
GRAND TOTAL	134,414	41,440	92,974	100.00	100.00	100.00

From Table 6 it will be seen that rural-urban migration during 1960-61 was of the order of 2.44 million. On the assumption that this holds good for the whole decade, 1951-61, one would get an estimate of 24.4 million rural to urban migrants but the facts are that the total increase in India's urban population during 1951-61 (even allowing for definitional changes) was less than 20 million. Zachariah and Ambannavar estimate from census data that rural urban migration during this decade was only 5.2 million.² Thus we are led to the conclusion that the figures do suggest that there is a large "turnover migration" in India. In other words, many people move from one area to another without being able to settle down. This mobility need not necessarily be voluntary. It is possible that persons from rural areas are "pushed" to the urban areas but what is more significant is that, probably, many of them are pushed back from the urban areas or pushed out to other urban areas. In an earlier chapter we have suggested that under conditions of rapid population growth "push" is not confined to rural areas only—it operates everywhere. There is the positive side also. As a result of development plans and the extension of irrigation facilities, there has been some migration from rural to rural areas on account of new employment opportunities.

However it would be difficult to explain the high figure for 1960-61 in terms of increased employment opportunities alone. Our hunch is that the yearly figure would be high for any year if data are tabulated on a yearly basis and the yearly migration rate would tend to be the gross migration rate. The chances of netting temporary migrants (in spite of the usual place of residence concept in the census) in the yearly figure are much more than in the average yearly figure worked out on the basis of aggregate data for duration of residence for 5 years. In Table 8 we give the ratio of migrants during 1960-61 to the average annual migrants during 1955-60 (based on data for duration of residence 1-5 years).

TABLE 8—INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF TURNOVER MIGRATION IN INDIA

Migration streams	Ratio of migrants in one year (1960-61) to the average annual number of migrants in a five-year period (1955-60)		
	Total	Male	Female
Rural to rural	2.1	2.8	1.8
Rural to urban	2.2	2.3	2.0
Urban to urban	2.1	2.2	2.0
Urban to rural	2.8	3.2	2.4
TOTAL	2.2	2.6	1.6

² K. C. Zachariah and J. P. Ambannavar, "Population Redistribution in India: Inter-state and Rural-urban," in Ashish Bose (ed.) *Patterns of Population Change in India 1951-61*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1967, pp. 93-106.

Tables 5 and 6. In the case of male migrants, even for long-distance migration, rural to rural migration is more important than rural to urban migration. But as we have already noted, this is not true of life-time migrants. In other words, there are no differentials in regard to sex in the pattern of yearly migration in respect of the numerical supremacy of the rural-to-rural migration stream.

Out-Migration Rate

On the basis of duration of residence data we have computed the annual "out-migration rates" (Table 7). These rates have their limitations, especially the rural to rural out-migration rate which really measures redistribution and not out-migration if rural areas are taken as a whole. Nevertheless, these rates do bring out the pattern of migration, whether these are called out-migration rates or redistribution rates.

TABLE 7.—ANNUAL (FOR 1960-61 ONLY) MIGRATION RATE (MIGRANTS PER 1,000 POPULATION)

<i>Migration streams</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Per 1,000 of total rural population			
Rural to rural	23.9	20.3	27.7
Rural to urban	6.8	8.2	5.3
Per 1,000 of total urban population			
Urban to urban	18.2	18.5	17.8
Urban to rural	10.0	9.7	10.4

Interestingly enough, the urban to rural out-migration rates are higher than the rural to urban out-migration rates (of course, in absolute terms the rural to urban migrants are many more than the urban to rural migrants). It may also be observed that there are no significant differences between the male and female out-migration rates in the urban areas while in the case of rural areas the female migration rates are higher for rural to rural migration.

Turnover Migration

Having examined the data for migration with respect to other durations of residence, namely, 1-5 years, 6-10 years and so on, we are led to the conclusion that the yearly migration figures are not in tune with the life-time migration figures or the general trend of migration in the 1951-61 decade. *The 1960-61 figures seem to be on the high side.* The effect of mortality on the migrants during this decade cannot by itself explain the large yearly flow of migrants. It is also possible that mobility has greatly increased in recent years and this has led to the increased tempo of migration. But the evidence on decade migration (1951-61) does not support this thesis.

From Table 6 it will be seen that rural-urban migration during 1960-61 was of the order of 2.44 million. On the assumption that this holds good for the whole decade, 1951-61, one would get an estimate of 24.4 million rural to urban migrants but the facts are that the total increase in India's urban population during 1951-61 (even allowing for definitional changes) was less than 20 million. Zachariah and Ambannavar estimate from census data that rural urban migration during this decade was only 5.2 million.² Thus we are led to the conclusion that the figures do suggest that there is a large 'turnover migration' in India. In other words, many people move from one area to another without being able to settle down. This mobility need not necessarily be voluntary. It is possible that persons from rural areas are "pushed" to the urban areas but what is more significant is that, probably, many of them are pushed back from the urban areas or pushed out to other urban areas. In an earlier chapter we have suggested that under conditions of rapid population growth "push" is not confined to rural areas only—it operates everywhere. There is the positive side also. As a result of development plans and the extension of irrigation facilities, there has been some migration from rural to rural areas on account of new employment opportunities.

However it would be difficult to explain the high figure for 1960-61 in terms of increased employment opportunities alone. Our hunch is that the yearly figure would be high for any year if data are tabulated on a yearly basis and the yearly migration rate would tend to be the gross migration rate. The chances of netting temporary migrants (in spite of the usual place of residence concept in the census) in the yearly figure are much more than in the average yearly figure worked out on the basis of aggregate data for duration of residence for 5 years. In Table 8 we give the ratio of migrants during 1960-61 to the average annual migrants during 1955-60 (based on data for duration of residence 1-5 years).

TABLE 8—INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF TURNOVER MIGRATION IN INDIA

Migration streams	Ratio of migrants in one year (1960-61) to the average annual number of migrants in a five-year period (1955-60)		
	Total	Male	Female
Rural to rural	2.1	2.8	1.8
Rural to urban	2.2	2.3	2.0
Urban to urban	2.1	2.2	2.0
Urban to rural	2.8	3.2	2.4
TOTAL	2.2	2.6	1.6

² K. C. Zachariah and J. P. Ambannavar "Population Redistribution in India: Inter-state and Rural-urban," in Ashish Bose (ed.) *Patterns of Population Change in India 1951-61*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1967, pp. 93-106.

It may be argued, however, that the average figure for the five-year period may not reflect reality. It is possible that there is an accelerating tempo of migration from 1955-60 culminating in the high figure for 1960-61. This needs investigation. Our view is that the economic evidence does not give us a sure basis for such a hypothesis. In other words, it is difficult to believe that the high figure for migration in 1960-61 was the result of increased economic activity. Our hypothesis is that increasing mobility and turnover migration are manifestations of slow economic development in the face of rapid population growth. Inasmuch as the predominant form of female migration is "marriage migration", one would expect a lower rate of turnover migration among females and this is corroborated by Table 8 which shows that the female turnover migration ratio was 1.9 compared to 2.6 for males. Whereas marriage migration has built-in stability—it is generally "once-for-all" migration or "associational migration"—economic migration (whether of males or females) has inbuilt instability depending on the vagaries of the employment market. Much of this turnover migration must be of the "try your luck" category.

Finally, there is no doubt at all that, in India, geographical mobility has greatly increased as a result of improved transport and communications, extension of education and new employment opportunities created by our development plans. This must have increased the tempo and volume of internal migration. But there is the darker side of the story also. As a result of the increasing pressure of population *both* in rural and in urban areas, there must be in operation a strong "push" factor, again both in rural and in urban areas, resulting in increased migration which, in the absence of adequate employment opportunities, must be bringing about further migration, culminating in a high rate of turnover migration. However, it is not possible to draw direct evidence of this from census data.

The evidence put forward by us, however, strongly indicates that the analysis of migration and urbanization will assume a larger dimension and an increased urgency if *yearly* migration figures are considered instead of decade and life-time migration figures. This highlights the need for annual sample surveys on internal migration.

Internal migration in India as a proportion of the total population gives a static picture which is very different from reality. The fact that the 1961 census recorded over 134 million persons who had moved out of their place of birth and that, of these, over 13 million persons were recorded as having arrived in the place of enumeration less than a year previously, throws new light on the magnitude of internal migration in India which has so far been treated as relatively unimportant, both statistically and otherwise.

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TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY MOTHER TONGUE IN DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 1961
(Note: Languages spoken by fewer than one million persons are not considered here)

<i>Languages</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Andhra Pradesh</i>	<i>Assam</i>	<i>Bihar</i>	<i>Gujarat</i>	<i>J & K</i>	<i>Kerala</i>
1 Assamese	6 803 465	122	6,784,271	224	37	5	14
2 Bengali	33 888 939	3 346	2 089 248	1 220 800	3 393	400	670
3 Gujarati	20 304 464	24 743	712	20 068	18 672,722	79	6 989
4 Hindi	133 435 360	138 968	523 791	20,580 643	192 407	22 378	7 327
5 Kannada	17 415 827	382 142	206	674	5 222	15	62 187
6 Kashmiri	1 956 115	104	41	186	122	19 37 817	17
7 Malayalam	17 015 782	23 350	2,204	7 559	7 785	156	16 065 740
8 Marathi	33 286 771	286 737	5 497	5 074	208 192	226	18 370
9 Oriya	15 719 398	201 621	146,022	302 969	379	26	59
10 Punjabi	10 950 826	10 868	11 779	72,191	14 791	978 393	1 157
11 Tamil	30,562,706	511 595	4 501	16 177	13 264	349	527 708
12 Telugu	37 668 132	30 934 898	19 786	37 222	10 602	172	44 838
13 Urdu	23 323 518	2,553 753	11 263	4 149 245	594 670	12 617	9 162
14 Bihari	16 806 772	110	27 129	16 442 087	72	15	4
15 Rajasthan	14 933 016	593 894	9 736	61 618	57 158	209 357	36
16 Santali	3 747 058	—	68 756	1 659 235	—	—	—
17 Bhojpuri	2,439 611	1 184	3	125	276 213	134	—
18 Gondi	1 501 431	75 964	11 454	451	219	—	—
19 Sindhi	1 371 922	5 984	718	4 089	500 222	96	1 532
20 Kherkari	1 352,563	1 568	74	816	37	4	77 594
21 Kirath Orson	1 141 804	1	32,725	549 377	—	—	—
22 Kumaoni	1 070 254	35	—	235	—	2	5
23 Nepali	1 021 102	1 725	215 213	29 747	2 682	708	312
24 Pahari (unclassified)	1 004 371	—	—	—	13	232,875	7

(Contd.)

and 73 dialects of Rajasthani. Hindi, Bihari and Rajasthani lumped together accounted for 37.6 per cent of India's population. If Urdu (5.3%) and Punjabi (2.5%) are also added to this group, we have 45.4 per cent of India's population belonging to the Hindi-Bihari-Rajasthani-Urdu-Punjabi group of languages.

Turning to bilingualism, we find that the Hindi-speaking persons are the least bilingual (5.1%) while the Urdu-speaking persons are the most bilingual (22.1%).

Hindi is spoken by 9.4 million persons as a subsidiary language (other than the mother tongue) while Urdu is spoken as a subsidiary language by 2 million persons. English is spoken as a subsidiary language by 10.9 million persons (2.5 per cent of India's population) or by more persons than those who speak Hindi as a subsidiary language (who constitute 2.1 per cent of India's population). It may be noted that only 223,781 persons (0.05 per cent of India's population) claimed English as their mother tongue.

Inter-state Migration

In Table 1 we present detailed data on the state-wise distribution of population of all the linguistic groups in India claiming more than one million speakers. The linguistic dispersal in India is brought out in Table 2. We have calculated in this table the ratio of linguistic dispersal by which we mean the proportion of persons speaking a particular language residing outside the home state (where it is the main language) out of the total number of persons in the country as a whole speaking that language. To give an example, there were 6.8 million persons speaking Assamese in the whole of India. Of these, only 19 thousand were enumerated outside Assam. Thus, the linguistic dispersal ratio is 0.3. In contrast, 2.6 million Punjabi-speaking persons were enumerated outside Punjab. The linguistic dispersal ratio for the Punjabis is the highest in India, namely, 23.8 per cent. These figures, however, should not be accepted at their face value as there are several technical points involved by way of evaluation of the language data. We have, therefore, worked out the adjusted ratios also but the conclusion remains the same: among the major linguistic groups, the Assamese are the least mobile while the Punjabis are the most mobile. In regard to the other linguistic groups also, the linguistic dispersal ratio is broadly indicative of differential mobility.

The figures for Punjabi-speaking and Bengali-speaking population are considerably affected by the influx of refugee migration from Pakistan consequent upon the Partition of India. There is also some basis to regard the 1961 census figures for the Punjabi-speaking population as underestimates inasmuch as there was a tendency on the part of Hindus to return Hindi and not Punjabi as their mother tongue in the Punjabi-speaking areas. There was also a tendency on the part of East Pakistani Muslim infiltrators in Assam to record their mother tongue as Assamese and not Bengali except in the Cachar District of Assam. A proper adjustment of all these factors has not been attempted at this stage. The figures presented in Table 2 must, therefore, be read with caution. In our adjusted linguistic dispersal ratio for Punjabi we have

TABLE 1 (contd.)

Language	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal	Andaman & Nicobar	Delhi	Himachal Pradesh	Locative & Minicoy	Manipur
1 Assamese	303	8,279	12	212	21	—	300
2 Bhojpuri	104,528	29,435,928	13,853	28,136	216	—	10,011
3 Gujarati	12,832	25,709	105	6,626	23	1	2
4 Hindi	62,974,756	1,897,825	3,573	2,057,241	143,570	2	2,379
5 Kannada	1,527	697	71	2,001	7	6	4
6 Kashmiri	1,316	99	10	3,043	3,502	—	11
7 Malayalam	7,715	8,602	6,673	9,495	122	20,029	54
8 Marathi	14,559	13,280	56	7,578	30	5	6
9 Oriya	1,360	213,831	129	734	30	—	57
10 Punjabi	418,853	57,656	359	317,333	85,396	1	639
11 Tamil	12,379	32,663	5,769	22,963	48	43	17
12 Telugu	4,530	80,930	3,758	5,230	4	5	20
13 Urdu	7,891,714	832,847	1,897	153,251	6,271	1	36
14 Bengali	121,000	148,889	1,664	231	11	—	232
15 Rajasthani	6,294	31,772	9	2,492	5,875	—	410
16 Santali	3	1,140,913	4	1	45	—	—
17 Hindi	—	26	—	—	—	—	—
18 Gondi	—	75	—	6	—	—	—
19 Hindi	57,458	2,198	3	27,200	33	—	19
20 Kachari	327	743	11	1,405	9	4	—
21 Kachari Orissi	761	231,127	2,214	3	69	—	—
22 Kumaoni	1,028,241	29	—	149	18	—	—
23 Nepali	79,355	524,797	170	3,587	10,811	—	13,571
24 Pahari (non-Hindi)	2,803	—	6	284	519,782	—	—

(Contd.)

TABLE I (contd.)

Language	Madhya Pradesh	Madras	Maharashtra	Mysore	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan
1. Assamese ^e	595	70	272	121	—	1,196	71
2. Bengali	52,813	2,498	29,114	2,583	125,687	4,811	8,807
3. Gujarati	129,389	173,702	1,101,600	29,296	9,436	1,863	41,833
4. Hindi	25,271,723	38,989	1,230,026	81,836	219,525	11,298,855	6,714,857
5. Kannada ^a	5,232	947,828	633,244	15,371,753	594	604	371
6. Kashmiri ¹	552	89	658	23	2	8,124	317
7. Malayalam	19,924	404,346	90,460	305,512	4,832	6,390	2,213
8. Marathi	1,259,682	52,363	30,278,913	1,072,419	2,970	4,853	9,183
9. Oriya	389,463	399	3,624	1,172	14,443,598	533	1,408
10. Punjabi	111,955	3,507	104,224	5,390	6,966	8,343,264	403,975
11. Tamil	28,141	28,016,147	167,694	859,173	6,918	6,789	3,443
12. Telugu	58,426	3,363,834	640,795	2,047,379	393,453	2,410	1,181
13. Urdu	740,185	615,503	2,725,737	2,034,482	212,891	255,660	509,673
14. Bihari	63,609	17	584	25	—	78	478
15. Rajasthan ¹	1,611,656	7,188	629,455	305,245	2,838	21,162	11,386,005
16. Santali	51	3	21	—	376,302	6	—
17. Bhoj	875,916	—	441,364	1	—	1,113	831,869
18. Gondi	1,045,986	—	347,052	—	20,087	—	—
19. Sindhi	181,605	7,511	340,933	7,426	131	1,311	233,321
20. Konkani	1,460	4,656	214,686	492,339	—	239	—
21. Kurukh/Oraon	276,193	—	75	—	57,340	—	—
22. Kumaoni	412	—	234	—	—	63	—
23. Nepali	9,544	1,348	12,512	837	1,878	13,356	1,820
24. Pahari (unclassified)	267	17	121	13	—	248,176	—

(Contd.)

TABLE 2.—LINGUISTIC DISPERSAL IN INDIA: 1961

S No	Language	Home state	Total number of speakers in India	Total number of speakers in the home state	Total number of speakers outside the home state	Ratio of linguistic dispersal		Adjusted* ratio
						Col (6) Col (4)	Col (7) Col (4)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
1.	Assamese	Assam	6,803,465	6,784,271	19,194	0.3	0.3	0.3
2	Bengali	West Bengal	31,888,939	29,435,928	4,453,011	13.1	13.1	7.0
3.	Gujarati	Gujarat	20,304,464	18,672,722	1,631,742	8.0	8.0	4.1
4.	Hindi	U P, Bihar, M P, Rajasthan, Punjab	133,435,360	126,840,814	6,594,546	4.9	4.9	5.1
5.	Kannada	Mysore	17,415,827	15,371,753	2,044,074	11.7	11.7	7.3
6.	Kashmiri	Jammu & Kashmir	1,956,115	1,937,817	18,298	0.1	0.1	0.1
7.	Malayalam	Kerala	17,015,782	16,065,740	950,042	5.6	5.6	5.6
8.	Marathi	Maharashtra	33,286,771	30,278,913	3,007,858	9.0	9.0	7.6
9.	Oriya	Orissa	15,719,398	14,443,598	1,275,800	8.1	8.1	8.1
10	Punjabi	Punjab	10,950,826	8,343,264	2,607,562	23.8	23.8	10.5
11.	Tamil	Madras	30,562,706	28,016,147	2,546,559	8.3	8.3	8.3
12.	Telugu	Andhra Pradesh	37,668,132	30,934,898	6,733,234	17.9	17.9	8.9

*Adjusted figures keeping in mind the bilingual nature of some states (technical details not included here)

TABLE 1 (contd)

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Tripura</i>	<i>Dadra and Nagar Haveli</i>	<i>Goa, Daman & Diu</i>	<i>Pondicherry</i>	<i>NEFA</i>	<i>Nagaland</i>	<i>Sikkim</i>
1. Assamese	123	—	—	6	3,640	3,566	5
2. Bengali	744,803	—	41	512	2,261	3,820	660
3. Gujarati	40	11,327	34,888	458	9	9	3
4. Hindi	18,607	352	1,663	461	7,037	4,486	2,153
5. Kannada	5	7	947	436	52	4	1
6. Kashmiri	3	—	—	1	76	1	1
7. Malayalam	34	1	121	20,692	737	928	108
8. Marathi	20	34,118	11,883	203	242	51	61
9. Oriya	11,583	—	—	9	236	145	11
10. Punjabi	111	—	14	53	1,157	628	166
11. Tamil	49	—	286	325,862	587	86	35
12. Telugu	1,713	136	209	16,243	243	89	26
13. Urdu	21	140	9,521	2,594	209	56	119
14. Bihari	13	15	—	1	202	150	81
15. Rajasthan	41	—	—	18	105	82	555
16. Santali	1,634	—	—	—	16	66	—
17. Bhili	129	11,534	—	—	—	—	—
18. Gondi	116	—	—	—	—	—	21
19. Sindhi	21	8	53	23	32	—	5
20. Konkani	—	3	556,557	28	1	2	—
21. Kurukh/Oraon	1,811	—	22	—	49	37	—
22. Kumaoni	18	—	—	—	325	488	—
23. Nepali	1,696	4	8	52	10,610	10,400	74,359
24. Pahari (Unclassified)	—	—	—	—	5	—	—

TABLE 2—LINGUISTIC DISPERSAL IN INDIA* 1961

S No	Language	Home state	Total number of speakers in India	Total number of speakers in the home state	Total number of speakers outside the home state	Ratio of linguistic dispersal $\frac{\text{Col (6)}}{\text{Col (4)}} \times 100$	Adjusted* ratio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Assamese	Assam	6,803,465	6,784,271	19,194	0.3	0.3
2	Bengali	West Bengal	31,888,939	29,435,928	4,453,011	13.1	7.0
3.	Gujarati	Gujarat	20,304,464	18,672,722	1,631,742	8.0	4.1
4	Hindi	U P, Bihar, M P, Rajasthan, Punjab	133,435,360	126,840,814	6,594,546	4.9	5.1
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10	Punjabi	Punjab	10,950,826	8,343,264	2,607,562	23.8	10.5
11	Tamil	Madras	30,562,706	28,016,147	2,546,559	8.3	8.3
12.	Telugu	Andhra Pradesh	37,668,132	30,934,898	6,733,234	17.9	8.9

*Adjusted figures keeping in mind the bilingual nature of some states (technical details not included here)

taken note of the refugee migration from Punjab in Pakistan. Thus, while the unadjusted ratio is 23.8 per cent, the adjusted ratio is 10.5 per cent.

In Table 3 we give figures for North Indians outside the Northern States and South Indians outside the Southern States. The former group claims 6.4 million persons (leaving aside the Union Territories) while the latter group claims 2.4 million persons.

TABLE 3.—(A) NORTH INDIANS OUTSIDE THE NORTHERN STATES

State	Mother tongue				Total
	Punjabi	Hindi	Rajasthani	Bihari	
1 Andhra Pradesh	10,868	138,968	583,894	110	733,840
2 Assam	11,779	523,791	9,736	27,129	572,435
3. Gujarat	14,791	192,407	57,158	72	264,428
4 Kerala	1,157	7,327	36	4	8,524
5. Madras	3,507	38,989	7,188	17	49,701
6. Maharashtra	104,224	1,230,026	629,455	584	1,964,289
7. Mysore	5,390	81,836	305,245	25	392,496
8. Orissa	6,966	219,525	2,838	—	229,329
9 West Bengal	57,656	1,897,825	31,772	148,889	2,136,142
TOTAL	216,338	4,330,694	1,627,322	176,830	6,351,184

(B) SOUTH INDIANS OUTSIDE THE SOUTHERN STATES

State	Mother Tongue				Total
	Kannada	Malayalam	Tamil	Telugu	
1. Assam	206	2,204	4,501	19,786	26,697
2. Bihar	674	7,559	16,177	37,222	61,632
3 Gujarat	5,222	7,785	13,264	10,602	36,873
4. Jammu & Kashmir	15	156	349	172	692
5 Madhya Pradesh	5,232	19,924	28,141	58,426	111,723
6 Maharashtra	633,244	90,460	167,694	640,795	1,532,193
7 Orissa	584	4,832	6,918	393,453	405,787
8 Punjab	604	6,390	6,789	2,410	16,193
9. Rajasthan	371	2,213	3,443	1,181	7,208
10 Uttar Pradesh	1,527	7,715	12,399	4,530	26,171
11. West Bengal	697	8,602	32,663	80,930	122,892
12. Delhi	2,001	9,495	22,963	5,230	39,689
TOTAL	650,377	167,335	315,301	1,254,737	2,387,750

In Table 4 we have attempted to answer the following questions: How urban are the different linguistic groups in India? How urban are the migrants belonging to different linguistic groups? It will be seen that Gujarati-speaking persons

TABLE 4.—PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES RESIDING IN URBAN AREAS IN INDIA 1961

States	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Hindi	Kannada	Kashmiri	Malayalam
INDIA	4.62	20.63	27.59	15.34	16.25	21.46	16.43
Andhra Pradesh	—	89.75	90.02	81.10	18.40	—	85.07
Assam	4.49	16.56	—	22.71	—	—	66.15
Bihar	—	22.77	80.46	10.35	—	—	80.21
Gujarat	—	91.63	22.72	84.64	78.95	—	90.98
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	71.45	—	21.11	—
Kerala	—	—	97.81	65.72	19.28	—	14.29
Madhya Pradesh	—	63.21	58.08	12.52	65.19	—	85.71
Madras	—	74.38	95.51	80.18	27.42	—	55.41
Maharashtra	—	96.28	88.36	63.88	34.12	—	96.55
Mysore	—	93.50	53.35	70.12	14.68	—	28.68
Orissa	—	38.54	83.10	44.79	—	—	86.98
Punjab	99.25	87.13	89.26	24.99	—	61.60	97.28
Rajasthan	—	86.34	46.58	21.16	—	—	89.02
Uttar Pradesh	—	76.04	89.47	10.10	97.25	63.68	96.71
West Bengal	67.80	20.46	95.48	72.85	—	—	92.55

(Contd.)

TABLE 4 (contd.)

States	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu
INDIA	21.31	6.35	21.03	26.44	17.71	40.33
Andhra Pradesh	29.02	17.22	94.45	30.04	14.55	47.50
Assam	13.46	1.53	65.74	31.97	20.86	35.99
Bihar	86.11	19.81	77.47	75.36	64.48	14.74
Gujarat	67.76	—	87.74	90.79	81.34	75.50
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	15.06	—	—	9.92
Kerala	16.25	—	84.18	28.48	29.20	69.05
Madhya Pradesh	23.46	6.52	78.66	85.81	62.14	71.25
Madras	68.94	—	74.94	24.39	28.49	68.32
Maharashtra	20.30	82.34	95.95	93.97	51.81	54.46
Mysore	31.42	24.57	94.34	68.92	28.69	47.88
Orissa	21.38	4.95	82.69	66.19	27.80	34.16
Punjab	94.77	—	13.91	97.20	95.73	16.12
Rajasthan	65.96	—	18.84	88.24	75.70	65.68
Uttar Pradesh	94.04	89.41	60.63	75.77	90.35	32.28
West Bengal	90.73	71.77	88.38	93.28	92.96	67.14

NOTE: Languages claiming fewer than 1,000 persons in any state have been excluded.

TABLE 4 (contd.)

States	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu
INDIA	21.31	6.35	21.03	26.44	17.71	40.33
Andhra Pradesh	29.02	17.22	94.45	30.04	14.55	47.50
Assam	13.46	1.53	65.74	31.97	20.86	35.99
Bihar	86.11	19.81	77.47	75.36	64.48	14.74
Gujarat	67.76	—	87.74	90.79	81.34	75.50
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	15.06	—	—	9.92
Kerala	16.25	—	84.18	28.48	29.20	69.05
Madhya Pradesh	23.46	6.52	78.66	85.81	62.14	71.25
Madras	68.94	—	74.94	24.39	28.49	68.32
Maharashtra	20.30	82.34	95.95	93.97	51.81	54.46
Mysore	31.42	24.57	94.34	68.92	28.69	47.88
Orissa	21.38	4.95	82.69	66.19	27.80	34.16
Punjab	94.77	—	13.91	97.20	95.73	16.12
Rajasthan	65.96	—	18.84	88.24	75.70	65.68
Uttar Pradesh	94.04	89.41	60.63	75.77	90.35	32.28
West Bengal	90.73	71.77	88.38	93.28	92.96	67.14

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Gujarat	67.76	—	87.74	90.79	81.34	75.50
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	15.06	—	—	9.92
Kerala	16.25	—	84.78	23.48	29.20	69.05
Madhya Pradesh	23.46	6.52	78.66	85.81	62.14	71.25
Madras	68.94	—	74.94	24.39	28.49	68.32
Maharashtra	20.30	82.34	95.95	93.97	51.81	54.46
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Punjab	94.77	—	13.91	97.20	95.73	16.12
Rajasthan	65.96	—	18.84	88.24	75.70	65.68
Uttar Pradesh	94.04	89.41	60.63	75.77	90.35	32.28
West Bengal	90.73	71.77	88.38	93.28	92.96	67.14

Note: Languages claiming fewer than 1,000 persons in any state have been excluded.

are the most urbanized in India, while Assamese speaking persons are the least urbanized. Of course, one would expect this also in view of the different levels of urbanization in Gujarat and Assam. The State wise figures are more revealing. With a few exceptions the migrant groups are predominantly urban. To give an example among the Malayalam speaking population in Kerala only 14.3 per cent reside in urban areas, but among the Malayalees residing in Uttar Pradesh 96.7 per cent are in urban areas. This table throws light on the different patterns of internal migration in India.

Table 5 gives the linguistic composition of the populations of the first four big cities of India, namely Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. The data indicate clearly that Bombay is the most cosmopolitan city in India.

TABLE 5—LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, DELHI AND MADRAS 1961

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Total number of speakers</i>	<i>Percentage of population speaking the language</i>
A. Greater Bombay		
Marathi	1 775,243	47.62
Gujarati	796,892	21.38
Urdu	401 616	10.77
Hindi	330 618	8.87
Tamil	104 433	2.80
Telugu	98,971	2.65
Kannada	83 150	2.23
Malayalam	65 674	1.76
Punjabi	54 634	1.47
Bengali	14 601	0.39
Oriya	1,386	0.04
Rest	628	0.02
TOTAL	3 727 846	100.00
B. Calcutta		
Bengali	1 868 862	65.61
Hindi	565,242	19.88
Urdu	262,840	9.23
Oriya	61,352	2.15
Punjabi	25,561	0.90
Gujarati	20,774	0.73
Tamil	15,333	0.54
Telugu	12,881	0.45
Marathi	6,128	0.22
Malayalam	5 505	0.19
Assamese	2 729	0.09
Rest	293	0.01
TOTAL	2,848,500	100.00

(Contd.)

TABLE 5 (contd.)

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Total number of speakers</i>	<i>Percentage of population speaking the language</i>
C. Urban Delhi		
Hindi	1,763,802	76.19
Punjabi	315,089	13.61
Urdu	150,199	6.49
Bengali	28,079	1.21
Tamil	22,920	0.99
Malayalam	9,475	0.41
Marathi	7,363	0.33
Gujarati	6,611	0.28
Telugu	5,211	0.23
Kashmiri	2,913	0.13
Kannada	1,999	0.09
Rest	1,001	0.04
TOTAL	2,314,862	100.00
D. Madras		
Tamil	1,226,646	72.31
Telugu	244,632	14.42
Urdu	102,208	6.03
Malayalam	57,925	3.42
Gujarati	16,346	0.96
Hindi	16,195	0.95
Kannada	15,151	0.89
Marathi	14,025	0.83
Punjabi	1,494	0.09
Bengali	1,296	0.08
Rest	397	0.02
TOTAL	1,696,315	100.00

TABLE 6.—NUMBER OF DISTRICTS OUTSIDE HOME STATE WHERE THERE ARE MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE

<i>Languages spoken</i>	<i>No. of districts</i>	<i>Total speakers</i>	<i>Average number of speakers per district</i>
1. Assamese	4	10,346	2,586
2. Bengali	84	4,419,297	52,611
3. Gujarati	103	1,590,422	15,441
4. Hindi	140	6,576,745	46,977
5. Kannada	47	2,020,681	42,993
6. Kashmiri	5	9,272	1,854
7. Malayalam	57	904,509	15,869
8. Marathi	110	2,970,382	27,003
9. Oriya	43	1,260,727	29,319
10. Punjabi	121	2,548,319	21,060
11. Tamil	94	2,508,528	26,686
12. Telugu (excluding Madras State)	94	3,343,461	35,569
Telugu (including Madras State)	107	6,707,295	62,685

District wise Figures for Migration

In our district wise analysis of language data we have ignored districts where the total number of persons speaking a particular language is below 1,000. Persons whose mother tongue is Hindi are found in 140 districts of India (outside the Hindi speaking States), Punjabi speaking persons in 120 districts (outside Punjab) but only 3 districts in India (excluding Assam) have Assamese speaking persons. We have not presented the detailed figures here as they are rather unwieldy.

We hope the 1971 Census tabulation scheme will be an improvement over the 1961 scheme and that it would be possible to conduct a more detailed study of linguistic dispersal in India.

PART FIVE

Land and Housing—
A Case Study of Urban Delhi

CHAPTER TWELVE

LAND PRICES AND LAND SPECULATION IN URBAN DELHI: 1947-67*

AT THE instance of the National Buildings Organisation, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, we took up "a study of speculative prices of urban land in Delhi." Before we could arrive at the speculative element in land prices, we had necessarily to study the working of the urban land market in Delhi. For obvious reasons, most people are very reluctant to part with data on land transactions. The official records are unreliable on account of the widespread practice of under reporting land prices to dodge taxes. Besides, many of these transactions are carried on in black money and consequently in utmost secrecy. Our investigation into land prices, therefore, proved to be a formidable task calling for very unorthodox methods of data collection. At times it looked as if it would be impossible to collect any data at all by routine methods of investigation. We often posed as prospective buyers of land to get first-hand knowledge of the land market. There were many things we could not verify for example, allegations of widespread municipal corruption.

Due to the multiplicity of municipal and other organizations and departments associated with land acquisition, land development, land sales, levy of taxes, etc., we found that what appeared to be a simple task involving copying of data from records was in fact a most difficult task. The practice of needless secrecy in many of the Government departments engaged in land transactions was another hurdle. We were fortunate, however, ultimately in getting access to most government records.

We must also mention here that the apparently simplest things turned out to be most difficult. For example, in spite of our best efforts we could not get an up-to-date map of urban Delhi showing all the colonies—authorized as well as unauthorized. Most of the available maps are hopelessly out of date. We had to take recourse to personal visits to the sprawling colonies scattered all over Delhi. Or take, for example, data on the number of houses built every year—authorized as well as unauthorized. Again, no data were available on this, and even in regard to approved constructions, the data were not consolidated at one place and one had to visit several zonal offices to collect them. We have already mentioned the limitations of data on sale of land. The prevalence of

*This chapter is based on a report on "Land Speculation in Urban Delhi" submitted by the author to NBO in 1968.

two sets of prices—one in white money and the other in black—raises several methodological issues in calculations of net returns on investment in land. The same is true of the true cost of house construction and the calculations on returns on housing.

In view of all these difficulties, our study is at best only an exploratory one. We are more than convinced that, under the prevailing circumstances, any *diagnostic study of land prices calls for tremendous effort, ingenuity, skill and expertise* and perhaps this explains why there is hardly any technical study on urban land prices in Indian cities. In the place of such studies we have emotional rhetoric, philosophical condemnation of speculation as an anti-social activity, without going into the economics of the land market; all manner of suggestions for "mopping up unearned increments" without an understanding of the *modus operandi* of the speculators, profiteers and tax-dodgers. Recommending new taxes is less difficult than plugging legal and fiscal loopholes. Who can deny that the *speculator is smarter than the tax collector?*

The study of land prices is indeed a difficult area of research and it is only in recent years that technical studies on the subject have been undertaken even in developed countries. In India, there is hardly any rigorous study of this field. The Town and Country Planning Organisation is making serious attempts to study land prices and policies. The general thinking on the subject, as reflected in the writings of scholars and laymen alike, in the utterances of politicians and administrators, in the enunciation of land policy in the Five Year Plans and the *deliberations of various Committees and Commissions*, is that speculation is the most important cause of rise in land prices. The evidence produced to substantiate this viewpoint is, however, far from adequate.

During our investigation, we came across diametrically opposite views. The official viewpoint was that speculators and profiteers were responsible for the steep rise in land prices which was completely out of proportion to the rise in the general price level. On the other hand, the colonizers' viewpoint was that, since the "land freeze" in 1959 brought about by the Delhi Development Authority through its "large-scale acquisition, development and disposal of land scheme," the Government has been the biggest profiteer and the policy of land auctions at fabulous prices has resulted in the high prices of land in Delhi. In fact, the colonizers maintain that no private company could ever make the huge profits on sale of land which the Delhi Development Authority has made.

This controversy immediately plunged us into an assessment of the Government's land policy, especially since 1959. Thus the linking of land prices with land policy became inevitable. Another aspect which was brought out very prominently during our investigation was the emergence of a phenomenon which is far more sinister than land speculation—the mushroom growth of unapproved colonies and the wasteful urban sprawl all around Delhi. This sprawl and the greatly enhanced cost of the urban infra-structure has a direct bearing on the development cost of land and, ultimately, on the price of land.

Thus, our original terms of reference, namely, study of speculative prices, were found inadequate from the methodological point of view and we had necessarily to work on a wider canvas. An examination of the Government's

land policy in its historical perspective became absolutely essential and so also an investigation into the disturbing phenomenon of the proliferation of unauthorized colonies

What is Land Speculation

It is difficult to arrive at a precise definition of land speculation. In a Bombay case (*Dhusabhai Polabhai vs Sp Land Acquisition Officer Ahmedabad, 1959*), the judge observed

If a person desires to acquire land or settle down in a place which is full of promise for development, the desire could not be condemned as a mere speculative desire. There could be nothing unreal or undesirable about it. If the knowledge that acquisition by the Government is imminent raises the tone of the market and gives impetus to the market, a new market rate would be created and the transaction would be governed by that rate. It would be too dangerous a proposition to lay down and too unfair a comment on human impulses to generalise and stigmatise every transaction of sale entered into after the market had risen as a speculative transaction or demonstration of a profiteering tendency of a human mind.¹

In other words, a mere rise in the price of land should not be equated with speculation. The motive behind a land transaction is an important element in determining whether or not a particular transaction is speculative. In a study of land speculation in the U S A, Allan Bogue and Margaret Bogue define a speculator as follows

...the word is used as it was in the newspapers of the Middle West during the mid and late nineteenth century, where generally it denoted an individual who purchased large acreages of unimproved land, intending to sell after land values had risen sufficiently to make their sale remunerative and who was not interested in working the land as a personal enterprise or in building up a long term tenant estate. Motivation becomes crucial, therefore, in identifying the speculator. But the student cannot always discover this. He is reduced to classifying as speculators those landholders whose motives he can discover to have been speculative and those who in all or in part of their land operations behaved in the same way as the members of the first group.²

In this study the Bogues consider the speculator as "a type of investor".

Apart from motivation, in order to classify a land transaction as speculation, it is necessary to consider the area of land involved. In a recent statistical study of land speculator profits in the U S A, Robert P. Swerenga defines speculators as "individuals who entered one thousand acres or more of Congress land."³

¹ V. G. Ramachandran, *The Law of Land Acquisition and Compensation*, Third Edition, Lucknow, 1965, p. 495.

² Allan G. Bogue and Margaret Bettie Bogue, "Profits and the Frontier Land Speculator," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1957, p. 1.

³ Robert P. Swerenga, "Land Speculator 'Profits' Reconsidered: Central Iowa as a Test Case," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 1-23.

K. A. Ramasubramaniam, former Director of the Town and Country Planning Organisation of the Government of India, in his study of urban land prices points out:

For the phenomenal increase in the price of land in and around the urban areas the most important reason is speculation.⁴

But, curiously enough, in the very next sentence he maintains:

The scarcity of land in relation to the demand, especially, in the face of rapid urbanization has created a sellers' market in land.⁵

Now these are two sets of factors and it is not clear from Mr. Ramasubramaniam's study why speculation and not the shortage of land is the most important reason for high land prices.

A similar viewpoint is expressed by Mr. J. P. Sah, of the Town and Country Planning Organisation in a recent paper:

The sky-rocketing of urban land values unrelated to any perceivable economic factors is largely explained by speculation in land.⁶

Yet in the very next sentence Mr. Sah mentions a perfectly valid economic factor to explain the high land prices. He says:

In the absence of adequate investment opportunities in the productive sectors, finance capital, earned and unearned, finds real estate a lucrative business.⁷

If investment in land offers higher returns than most other forms of investment, a legitimate field of enquiry would be why this is so. Where is the element of speculation if an investor knows for certain that returns on investment in land are high? Far from risk-taking, he would consider such investment as the most secure form of investment.

Mechanics of Land Development and Land Prices: Two Case Studies

Historically speaking, there are three distinct periods from the point of view of land development and house construction in Delhi, namely:

- (1) 1947-1955 which was marked by massive Governmental programmes for refugee rehabilitation;
- (2) 1955-1959, a period of boom for private land development companies and house construction; and
- (3) 1959-1967, characterized by the land freeze in 1959, a steep rise in land prices, and the emergence of a large number of unauthorized colonies.

*K. A. Ramasubramaniam: "Steep Rise in the Values of Urban Land," *Yojana*, 26 January 1966.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ J. P. Sah: "Land Policies for Urban and Regional Development in the Countries of the ECAFE Region," Paper for ECAFE Seminar, Nagoya, Japan, October 1966, p. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*

We will not go into the details of refugee rehabilitation colonies. The development of these colonies was dictated not strictly by economic considerations but by humanitarian ones. By and large, the Government did succeed in meeting the tremendous challenge of providing shelter to hundreds of thousands of uprooted people consequent upon the partition of India in 1947.

Turning to the second period, we find that the private colonizers also did succeed, by and large, in meeting a substantial part of the growing demand for housing in Delhi. The price at which these companies sold land was by no means exorbitant, it ranged from Rs 10 to Rs 20 per sq yard and even this money was collected in instalments. The major weakness of these colonizing companies was their deficiency in providing the urban infra-structure by way of filtered water supply, sewerage, electricity, etc. In several areas, there was a period of vacuum when the colonizer disappeared from the picture and the municipal corporation had yet to appear on the scene, resulting in great hardships to the residents of these new colonies.

The third period, however, has very few success stories. Land prices have risen very steeply during this period and the overall picture is one of disorganization and anarchy in regard to land development. The established private colonizers virtually went out of business from 1959 when the large-scale acquisition, development and disposal of land scheme was introduced. They were, however, replaced by a new set of colonizers specializing in illegal sales of land notified under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act.

In order to appreciate more fully the mechanics of urban land development and land prices in Delhi, we shall present a case study of a successful colonizing company which operated mostly in the period 1955-59 and then a case study of a colonizing company in the most recent period, i.e. after the large-scale acquisition of land scheme was introduced in 1959.

Case Study of X Company

This company was established by a group of persons whose common interest in land transactions, previous experience in handling such transactions, their governmental contacts and ready money combined to give them a good start. And this company did succeed in a big way. It made big profits both through purchase of "raw" land and sale after development and also through capital appreciation of their reserved plots. But there is no basis to doubt that the company was started as an honest business proposition to take advantage of the sudden increase in demand for land and housing after Partition. And X Company did make a positive contribution to relieving the housing shortage in Delhi which became acute after the war and Partition.

The company developed several residential colonies. We shall discuss here only one—Y Colony. The siting of this colony was determined by the availability of undeveloped land on the outskirts of the city, in an area where agricultural conditions were not favourable. The land was under cultivation and was sold to the company by the landowners direct and also through agents (brokers). The usual practice was to give agents a 2 per cent commission on

such transactions. So the real estate agents became active and took the initiative in informing the company about the availability of "raw" land. The company bought land mostly through one or two brokers but problems cropped up when the owners of small pieces of land lying in the midst of plots bought by the company refused to part with them. The company finally managed to get these parcels of land by offering higher prices than were paid for the rest of the land. Occasionally, there was litigation but the company invariably compromised by paying a higher price to the landowner. In this process, several landowners got fairly high prices for their agricultural land.

The main source of finance for the acquisition of land was the company's own capital. Sometimes it borrowed money from the public at the market rate of interest.

The development of land was carried on through contractors under the supervision of the company's engineers. The entire colony was developed at the same time because it was found more economical to do so than to develop the colony by stages. In other words, stages of development were operation-wise and not area-wise.

Though the whole colony was developed at the same time, all the plots were not offered for sale simultaneously. The company feared that the latter would depress the land market. The plots were, therefore, released for sale in stages.

The cost of development of the raw land was met largely from the price of land paid in instalments by the purchasers. The company did not seek loans or advances from any source for this purpose. The usual practice was to collect 35 per cent of the total price of the land in the first instalment. Further amounts were collected in instalments as and when the development work was completed.

The price policy adopted by the company was to ensure maximization of profit. As a spokesman of the company put it: "We are not a charitable concern. We want to maximize our profit within the limitations of the present tax structure." According to him, the company fixed the sale price of land allowing for a net profit of 12½ per cent to 15 per cent. The company took care to make a generous provision for contingencies.

Interestingly enough, plots were sold as soon as the land was acquired from the landlords, and often even before such lands were legally transferred to the company. A blueprint for the colony was prepared and municipal sanction obtained and plots were sold regardless of the stage of development of the colony. A commission of 2 per cent was offered to all brokers who got customers for the company. Even the regular employees of the company were entitled to this commission when they succeeded in securing sales.

All these transactions were strictly on a cash basis. According to the rules of the company, a purchaser of a plot could transfer it twice before the actual legal registration. Thus a plot could be sold three times before it was finally registered. The price of the land went up every time it was sold but the profits were immediately and automatically converted into black money and, in fact, most of these transactions were conducted only through black money. In the records of the company, resales were just transfers, the declared price of the

land remaining unchanged. *Thus, even before the birth of the colony, big money was made by people through the complete evasion of all taxes on the profits on the sale of the land*

It is interesting to note that the company did not claim any share in the profits made by its customers by resale up to 3 times before actual registration. The company seemed to be satisfied with its own profit and permitted customers to make windfall profits as a sort of inducement to them to buy land. It is also worth noting here that when the company sold the land, land prices in Delhi were not high and the company could not foresee, for that matter nobody could foresee, the tremendous rise in land prices from 1959 onwards—an increase of 800 to 1,000 per cent in eight or nine years. Looking back one would think that the company lost a tremendous opportunity for making speculative profits. However, our investigation has revealed that X Company did adopt a policy of cautious and mild speculation by cornering some plots of land which they called reserved plots. But before we discuss this aspect, we shall estimate the normal profits of this company.

Normal Profit on Land Development

The X Company developed several residential colonies and the overhead costs were put under one head, namely, establishment costs, and it is not possible to get separate data for each colony. However, according to the company's version, the development costs of a typical colony (developed around 1956) were as follows:

	<i>Cost per sq. yard</i>
Land acquisition	Rs. 4.00
Development costs	Rs. 8.00
Administrative & other expenses	Rs. 3.00
TOTAL	Rs. 15.00
Sale price	Rs. 20.00
Profit	Rs. 5.00
Rate of profit (gross)	33.3 per cent

However, our own assessment of the cost structure is as follows:

Land acquisition	Rs. 2.00
Development cost	Rs. 7.00
Administrative expenses	Rs. 1.00
TOTAL	Rs. 10.00
Sale price	Rs. 20.00
Profit	Rs. 10.00
Rate of profit (gross)	100 per cent

Speculation Profits on Land

Our investigation into the *modus operandi* of the cautious policy of speculation adopted by this company revealed the following:

A number of plots were reserved by the company from the very beginning and they were not sold. The company, of course, denied any speculative motive. They insisted that the plots were reserved in the interest of their customers. The argument runs as follows: The sale of plots takes place on the basis of the blueprint and not after actual demarcation on land. Sometimes the area of plots already sold falls short after actual demarcation. This creates complications later. So normally the company keeps both the corner plots reserved in every row. Sometimes, after actual demarcation the area turns out to be larger than on the blueprint. In such cases surplus land is left with the company. These reserved plots are naturally sold at the market price and not at the original price. The company maintains that such profits are helpful in meeting losses on account of unexpected delay in the development of colonies. For example, according to their plan, it was expected that one of their colonies would be completed in four years but actually it took six years. The plots were sold on the basis of the earlier expectation. Thus the sale of reserved plots at much higher prices later compensated for the additional expenditure on account of the delay by two years. All this may be good logic but our finding is that the idea behind "reserved plots" was cautious speculation. Our estimate of speculation profits for one of the colonies is as follows:

Number of reserved plots kept by the company	200
Roughly at the rate of 300 sq. yards per plot, total area reserved	60,000 sq. yards
Cost of development at the rate of Rs. 10/- per sq. yd.	Rs. 600,000
Original sale price at the rate of Rs. 20/- per sq. yd.	Rs. 1,200,000
Normal Profit	Rs. 600,000
Current market price: Rs. 175/- per sq. yd.	Rs. 10,500,000
Less original price	Rs. 1,200,000
Gross speculation profit	Rs. 9,300,000

The calculation of the net return per rupee on speculation must take note of (i) the period of waiting and (ii) the loss of interest at compound rate for the money blocked. In the case of this particular colony, the period of waiting was roughly 8 years and the market rate of interest is from 10 to 12 per cent per annum. Even taking all this into account, the fact remains that the rate of speculation profit was very high, well over 150 per cent per year.

Thus, an initial investment of Rs. 600,000 brought a normal profit of Rs. 600,000 and a speculation profit of Rs. 9,300,000 or a total of Rs. 9,900,000 or about Rs. 10 million in the course of eight years or so. The rate of profit is thus fabulous, but what is more important is that on account of the well-known methods of tax evasion much of this profit is tax free. The actual price of the land declared at the time of registration is very modest and has no relation to the market price.

Declared land prices are only a fraction of the actual land prices and our estimate is that 70 to 80 per cent of the profits on the sale of land are not declared and, therefore, escape taxes. Thus, if out of the speculation profits of

Rs 9.3 millions, 7 millions have gone undeclared, this amount should be really taken as profit *after deducting* tax. In view of the prevailing tax structure, one can calculate what must be the income before taxation which yields an income of Rs 7 millions *after* taxation. It will be a very large figure and if this figure is taken into account for calculating the return on speculative investment (i.e. our figure of Rs 600,000 in this case) the rate of return would be fantastic.

We must hasten to add here that too much should not be read into this success story. As pointed out earlier, if speculation is to make an impact on land prices, the number of plots and the acreage involved must be sizeable. We have no evidence to suggest that this is the case here. We have also come across individual speculators who buy two plots of land at a time, sell one plot when the land prices go up, invest the money in building a house on the remaining plot, sell the land and house at a big profit, invest in buying more plots of land and so on in a continuous spiral process of multiplying money. But it is doubtful if such investment in land and housing can be called speculation, and even if it were so, its *total* impact on the urban land prices can be only marginal, no matter how rewarding such transactions may be for the individual buyers and sellers of land.

The Emergence of Unauthorized Colonies

Ever since the partition of India and the sudden influx of refugees from Pakistan, squatting on Government lands has been on the increase. This is a problem in itself but our object here is only to draw attention to the proliferation of unauthorized colonies ever since the land freeze in 1959.

Whole colonies have been built without any municipal sanction and in complete disregard of municipal regulations. One can understand individual unauthorized constructions in big cities going unnoticed but how can one explain the emergence of whole colonies which are unauthorized? And such colonies are to be counted not by the dozen but by hundreds.

Our investigation into the mechanics of unauthorized colonies has brought to our notice a whole range of malpractices: municipal corruption, political nepotism and, above all, plain and simple swindling.

The public authorities cannot possibly plead ignorance. Under their very eyes hundreds of these colonies have sprung up over the last six years. And it must not be forgotten that the land freeze in 1959 was enforced for the orderly implementation of the Delhi Master Plan.

Case Study of an Unauthorized Colony

We shall briefly describe the *modus operandi* of promoters of unauthorized colonies. A typical advertisement for sale of land in such colonies runs as follows:

Z Colony. Buy freehold land at throw away prices Rs 2/- to Rs 18/- per square yard. Residential colony within five minutes walk from the main road. Visit the site. Free transport provided.

A typical illegal colonizer buys agricultural land from villagers on the outskirts of the city, does a superficial levelling of the land, places a row of bricks along the boundaries, demarcates the plots with chalklines, gets a simple blue-print (very often not to scale) prepared for the colony, hires a tent, a table with a glass-top, half a dozen chairs and puts up a signboard indicating the name of the colony. He then pitches his tent, puts in his table and chairs, the blue-print under the glass-top of the table, and he is ready for business. He also hires a taxi to fetch customers. Sales are brisk, for the prices are fantastically low compared to the prevailing market rates in Delhi.

Clerks, school teachers, small traders and the like are all attracted—they dream of building their own house in Delhi and getting out of the clutches of landlords. When they buy the land, they are given receipts, the transaction is even registered and a stamp duty paid and the purchaser returns home greatly satisfied with the world. Perhaps it is his life-time's savings which he has invested in the land.

Very soon his troubles begin. He learns that the colony where he has bought land will get no water, sewerage connection or electricity—because the plan for the colony did not have the prior approval of the Municipal Corporation. Very often he learns that he cannot even build a house on his plot because the area of Z Colony is in fact not a residential area.

Why did he not foresee all these difficulties? Well, the average buyer of this type of land does not know the implication of the Land Acquisition Act and the Delhi Municipal Act and so on.

But suppose one knew all this, what happens then? Well, we posed as a potential buyer and visited Z Colony. The following conversation took place:

WE: Is your land not covered by the Land Acquisition Order of 1959?

COLONIZER: Yes, but all land in Delhi is covered by this order. You see, only Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act has been applied and this is the opportunity to buy land in Delhi. Once Section 6 is applied it will be difficult. [It may be noted that Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 refers to the intention of the public authorities to acquire land while Section 6 refers to the actual acquisition of land after paying compensation.]

WE: Do you have water supply in your colony?

COLONIZER: It will come eventually. Meanwhile you can put in handpumps.

WE: What about electricity?

COLONIZER: The nearest electric post is just half a mile away. It is bound to come to our colony.

WE: What about drainage?

COLONIZER: There is so much of open land all around. Drainage is no problem.

WE: Have you got the plan of the colony approved by the Municipal Corporation?

COLONIZER: Not yet. But we will get the approval. Mr. X who as you know is an influential man. He has bought land in our colony and he will see to it that the plans are passed.

WE: Can I build a house straightaway if I buy the land?

COLONIZER Of course And you should hurry up Once a large number of houses are built, this colony will be regularized

WE But don't you think all this is illegal?

COLONIZER But what can we do? Land is selling at Rs 200/ a square yard in Delhi We are offering you land for only Rs 10/ per square yard

Interestingly enough, the Municipal Corporation charges house tax on unauthorized houses also and the owners of unauthorized houses are more than eager to pay the house tax and produce the receipt as evidence of their bona fides And such is the provision of the law that during registration of transfers of land there is absolutely no attempt made to verify if the land transaction has taken place in an authorized colony or in an unauthorized colony To the innocent, what greater proof can there be of his title to the land than a valid registration of the land transfer in a court of law?

During our investigations we also came across downright fraudulent practices For example, there were several cases when the same plot of land was sold to five or six persons and also duly registered under false plot numbers etc Often the customers were shown agricultural land with crops standing which did not even belong to the colonizer with the result that when the purchaser of land with a valid registration receipt went to claim his plot of land he was driven out by the landowner On the production of the receipt the customer was asked to go to the Court and complain Usually such land transactions are brisk and the colonizers completely disappear after selling the land

We shall now estimate the profits of such colonizers

Z COMPANY

Cost of acquiring 3 acres of agricultural land at the rate of Rs 5 000 per acre	Rs. 15 000
Cost of levelling	1,500/
Hire of tent, table chairs, etc	100
Free transport	700/
Miscellaneous	700/
	<hr/>
	Rs. 18 000/

Total area roughly 15 000 sq yards	= 12,000 sq yards
Usable area (80 per cent)	
(This of course is not according to municipal regulations)	
Cost per sq yard	Rs 1.50
Average sale price per sq yard	Rs. 10 00
Profit	Rs. 8.50
Total Profit	Rs. 102,000
Rate of gross profit	567 per cent

In fairness to the Municipal Corporation we must say that the Corporation did warn the public against such unscrupulous colonizers through beating of drums public notices cinema slides and newspaper advertisements But all this had very little impact on the sale of land in unauthorized colonies

For the colonizers the profits are fabulous For the buyer also the rates are fantastically cheap And after all people have to live somewhere Population

is increasing fast, migrants are growing in number. The DDA has frozen the land and whatever land development they undertook, took years and years and even then much of it was auctioned at very high prices and the plots which were allotted at lower prices by draw of lots could not possibly meet the growing demand for housing. In desperation, the poor and middle-class of Delhi bought land in unauthorized colonies and built unauthorized structures by the thousands.

It must be noted, however, that a large number of persons bought land in unauthorized colonies despite their knowledge that their land might be acquired by the Government under Section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act and that, in that event, the compensation paid would be Rs. 2 to 3 per sq. yard and, therefore, on the face of it, it was not worth paying Rs. 10 or 12 per sq. yard for such land. Here the motive was speculation. They just took the risk—if somehow land acquisition under Section 4 could be vacated, land prices would shoot up manifold and in that case there would be a windfall profit. If, however, Section 6 of the Act was enforced it would mean a net loss. A large number of people took this gambling chance and compounded one illegal activity with another—constructing houses without municipal sanction. Thus the strategy was one of *fait accompli*.

During our investigations we found that unauthorized house construction was at its peak on second Saturdays and Sundays when people took advantage of the two days' holidays to build their own houses. (Government offices in Delhi are closed for the full day on the second Saturday of each month.)

Then came the politicians. A voter is a voter whether he resides in an unauthorized colony or in an authorized colony. And every vote was important. So the local politicians entered the field. They argued in a high moral tone: "In a welfare state, people must get water, electricity, transport... How can you deny these to the people just because they are too poor and they built unauthorized houses?" As the elections approached, promises were made to the "unfortunate brothers" in the unauthorized colonies. What was the way out: "Regularize" the unauthorized colonies. And so it was in 1961 that the Delhi Municipal Corporation regularized 103 unauthorized colonies. More are on the waiting list for such "regularization".

The Economics of Price Rise

Our basic difficulty in subscribing to "the speculation theory" of land prices is as follows: speculation, by definition, implies risk-taking and the chances of incurring loss are as great as the chances of making a profit. In India, today, it is not gold but land which offers the greatest security and there is no question of incurring loss at all. If the value of land does not appreciate it will at least remain the same. Our study of Delhi shows that there is, by and large, no speculative element in investment in land except in spurious land transactions in unauthorized colonies involving land notified under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act. Land prices have gone up because of the interplay of the demand and supply factors. *The galloping increase in the demand for land and*

the dwindling supply ever since the acquisition notification in 1959, largely explains the steep rise in land prices

On the demand side, the following factors may be listed

(1) There was a large pent up demand for urban land on account of the growing housing shortage during the Second World War

(2) The partition of India and the large influx of refugees from Pakistan brought about an abnormally high demand for land for refugee rehabilitation colonies. Not all the refugees could be settled in these colonies. Hence there was a demand for land in non refugee colonies also

(3) New Delhi as the capital of free India became overnight the centre of vastly enhanced governmental activity and there was a tremendous increase in demand for office as well as residential accommodation in the Government sector. For many Government departments, far from moving out of Delhi, their continued location in New Delhi became a prestige point

(4) Another development arising out of independence was the sudden arrival in New Delhi of a large number of diplomats and their supporting staff. This finally led to the development of Diplomatic Enclave, well known for high land prices. But Diplomatic Enclave does not house all the embassies and embassy officials and their presence in Delhi in large numbers substantially increased the demand for upper-class colonies and luxury housing in New Delhi

(5) A related phenomenon was the posting of a large number of foreign experts in Delhi, either as individuals or as part of aid missions, military missions, cultural missions, UN and other international agencies and so on, resulting in a further increase in demand for office accommodation and upper-class residential accommodation

(6) There was a phenomenal increase in research activities in the erstwhile dry and soulless city of Delhi resulting in a mushroom growth of new institutes with all the paraphernalia of directors' bungalows, hostels, guest houses, etc

(7) With increasing foreign collaboration with Indian companies and in view of the fact that the concerned ministries are all located in Delhi, it became customary for these as well as wholly Indian companies to locate liaison offices, guest houses, etc in Delhi, thus making further demands on upper-class housing

(8) Turning to commercial and industrial land we find that since independence there has been a phenomenal rise in commercial and industrial activity in Delhi, which also has its effect on the demand for residential land of all classes

(9) Among the comparatively minor factors we may mention the increasing tendency of persons working in Delhi to settle down there after retirement. Further, in recent years, several persons of Indian origin from Burma, Ceylon and East Africa have bought land and other property in Delhi as they no longer feel secure in the countries of their adoption

(10) Finally, we must mention the growing magnitude of black money and the emergence of a new rich class which have greatly contributed to the demand for luxury housing and the development of posh localities. Perhaps the best way to dispose of black money is to buy land. It is very rarely that the actual price of land is entered while registering land transactions after payment of stamp duty. During our investigations we were told by property dealers that a few

years back, when police raided the houses and lockers of some Bombay industrialists and film stars in search of black money, land prices shot up in Delhi because there was a desperate attempt to salvage black money from Bombay and invest it in Delhi.

Let us look to the supply side now (here we must take a historical perspective):

(1) Soon after partition, the Government acquired large areas of raw land on the outskirts of Delhi—sometimes quite far from the city—to develop rehabilitation colonies. The Government also started using up its own stock of land for various governmental activities.

(2) Then came the colonizing companies which acquired large areas of agricultural land and developed them for residential uses. The cost of acquisition was low—it ranged from 4 annas per sq. yard to Rs. 1½ per sq. yard. The cost of development was also low and the price of land was between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 per sq. yard. It was even lower in some colonies.

(3) Then came the land freeze of 1959 and overnight the supply of land became fixed except for land developed and disposed of by the DDA. As we have already observed, the price of such auctioned land was exorbitant while that of land allotted to middle- and low-income groups was around Rs. 30 per sq. yard.

(4) There was however a "spurious" supply of land in unauthorized colonies where prices ranged from Rs. 2 to Rs. 20 per sq. yard.

(5) Even after the land freeze of 1959 there was some stock of developed but unbuilt land in the new colonies as also vacant plots in the newly developed colonies which could be legally bought and sold. The price of such land increased in the course of six to eight years by 8 to 10 times and in some areas it was as high as Rs. 400 per sq. yard. There are some undeveloped areas where the price ranges from Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 per sq. yard.

Thus, from the point of view of supply of residential land, the land market is a very disorganized one. There are several distinct layers:

- (1) the DDA auction land for which the sky is the limit as far as prices are concerned;
- (2) the resale price of land sold before 1959 but not yet fully developed and therefore unbuilt which is lower than DDA auction prices in comparable localities but certainly very high compared to the pre-1950 level of prices in the very same colonies;
- (3) a much lower price for land allotted by DDA on a no-profit-no-loss basis though we have our doubts about the interpretation of the formula for fixing such prices; and
- (4) the lowest land prices in, of course, the unauthorized colonies.

For the second category of land we have just listed there are again two sets of prices—one in white money and the other in black.

There is also the distinction between freehold land and leasehold land. The ground rent is 2½ per cent per annum on leasehold land and therefore the price of these two types of land at their face value is not strictly comparable.

We have also the phenomenon of sympathetic rise in land prices. For example,

it has been reported that when the DDA auctioned land at high prices in some localities, the prices for freehold plots in adjoining localities shot up

It has not been possible for us to collect reliable data on the increase in land prices in different localities from year to year. The registration records are most unreliable. We did, however, collect some data through brokers and a few knowledgeable persons. We give below the trend of freehold land prices in a middle-class residential locality of Delhi from 1949 onwards

	Price per sq. yard
	(Rs.)
1949	3 - 4
1952	8 - 10
1954	15 - 17
1955	8 - 10
1956	18 - 20
1957	20 - 22
1958	22 - 24
1959	30 - 35
1965	50 - 65
1966	90 - 100
1967	110 - 125

It may be noted that in 1955 this locality was threatened by flood and prices fell suddenly

In more affluent colonies the price ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per sq. yard when the land was first sold between 1955 and 1959. The current price in these localities ranges from Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 per sq. yard.

For this rise in prices the DDA's land freeze policy is generally held responsible. As we have already seen, there is much force in this allegation for the simple reason that the disposal of land was not on a scale which could meet even a fair proportion of the growing demand for residential land.

Before we close the discussion on land prices, we shall refer to the findings of a recent study on land prices in the U.K. which are somewhat similar to ours. This study concludes

land prices in the 1950's and early 1960's more than kept pace with growth of the rest of the economy. This suggests that the property market for all types and uses of land in Britain works and that the economic factors of supply and demand continue to rule. The operation of the market has been distorted by a volume of legislation concerned with a wide variety of matters affecting the use of land. Some of these Acts, such as the Town and Country Planning Act nationalizing land development values, and the Act imposing building licencing, tended to put a brake on development until they were rescinded in the early 1950's. Undoubtedly one of the factors in the rapid increase in land values was the fact that there had been little development in the preceding twenty years with a resultant pent up demand, another the general increase in prosperity. It is important to realize, however, that certainly so far as residential land was concerned the Town and Country Planning Acts with their provisions for development plans and development

*control were an inflationary factor because they limited the amount of land available in the market.*⁸ (emphasis added).

The DDA can, perhaps, seek solace from Britain's experience!

Recommendations

Before we come to our recommendations in regard to control of high land prices, we wish to emphasize the need for a complete reorientation in the Government's land policy in favour of a *land and housing policy*. We shall explain this point briefly. The present trend of thinking, as reflected in the enunciation of land policy in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Five Year Plans as well as in the reports and recommendations of several committees appointed to consider urban land policy and allied problems, is to blame speculation for high land prices on *a priori* grounds without any study of the land market. The standard solution offered is to control land prices by enforcing a string of new taxes and levies. Here there are two distinct problems—the problem of bringing down land prices is conceptually and operationally different from the problem of raising finances through fiscal measures or, for that matter, the problem of mopping up unearned increments in land transactions. We must face the fact that *land prices cannot be brought down by more taxes on land*. We must make it clear at once that we are not opposed to more taxes on land; in fact, our investigation reveals that, because of extensive tax evasion, most of the profits on land transactions are in reality tax-free and that the true rate of profit is fabulous. This, however, has nothing to do with speculation. It is more a function of the operation of black money in the land market in a big way.

Our basic objection to the present land policy is that it tends to regard developed residential land *as an end in itself* and to relegate housing to the background. The DDA's housing programme is no more than an apology for a realistic housing programme for meeting Delhi's requirements. Of course, our argument will be immediately countered by saying that the DDA primarily undertakes to develop land and not to build houses. It is precisely this policy which we are seeking to oppose. As our investigation has revealed, while it is highly profitable to invest in land, it is not equally profitable to invest in housing, especially middle-class housing, let alone housing for low-income groups. As a result, there has been a growth of luxury housing in Delhi *at the cost of middle-class and low-income group housing*. Scarce resources like cement have gone into upper-class housing, apart from the fact that the requirements of upper-class housing raise the over-all price of building construction. The DDA has, by its policy of auctioning land at high prices, facilitated the construction of luxury housing in Delhi. The justification for charging high prices was that the DDA had to earn a profit on the sale of plots to rich people in order to invest money in building houses for the low-income groups.

The question therefore arises, is it practicable to have an urban land policy

⁸E. F. Mills: "Land Values in the United Kingdom Since 1946," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 525.

for developing and disposing land with a grudging attention to low cost housing and another housing policy which is independent of an urban land policy? If our ultimate objective is housing, the cost of land and the cost of building as well as the returns on land and the returns on housing must be considered together and not piecemeal as is done today. We have therefore grave doubts whether the DDA will ever succeed in solving the housing problem of Delhi even if it succeeds in developing and disposing land on a large scale, which it is unable to do at present.

We have, therefore, serious misgivings about the working of the Large Scale Acquisition, Development and Disposal Scheme of the DDA launched in 1959. Some mechanism must be evolved whereby the DDA can ensure large-scale development of housing also. In the light of these observations we submit the following recommendations for the consideration of our planners, policy makers and administrators. In making these recommendations we have in mind the paramount objective of the welfare of the common man in Delhi.

(1) The DDA should modify its Large Scale Acquisition, Development and Disposal Scheme and introduce immediately a *Large-Scale Acquisition, Development and House Construction Scheme*, with the prime objective of supplying land and houses on a massive scale to meet the present desperate situation.

(2) The DDA should take a lesson from the financial working of private colonizing companies before 1959 and sell land to people even before actual development and collect money in instalments. It is possible, as the experience of the private colonizers has shown, to evolve a self financing scheme and to enter into the land business without a large initial capital.

(3) The DDA should reformulate its policy of developing land for sale to rich people through auction. It should develop land primarily for the middle-class and lower income-group people and leave the rich to their own devices. The present policy of charging 2½ per cent ground rent on leasehold land should be reconsidered in favour of a policy of levying a nominal ground rent.

(4) The DDA should revise its price policy for allotted land and adopt a strict no-profit no loss formula. If this is done the price of land cannot exceed Rs. 25 per sq. yard.

(5) The DDA should evolve a realistic housing policy aiming at *block housing and vertical expansion* and discontinue, except in special cases, sale of individual plots. It is not necessary to think in terms of co-operative housing alone. In fact, the sentimental attachment to co-operative housing has no basis. The DDA should encourage the formation of *land and housing companies* run strictly on commercial principles with a view to making profit. In fact, the DDA should take a bold step and give land to such companies on a no-profit no loss basis *provided* these companies build block housing and sell these houses at controlled rates to middle-class and low-income group people and the houses are built in accordance with DDA specifications. In other words, people should buy residential accommodation and not plots. This will go a long way in solving the dilemma of high returns on transactions in land and low returns on housing. If the private companies are given raw land at low rates (on the basis of the cost of acquisition plus a surcharge) they would certainly come forward.

develop the land and build houses and make a fairly high profit. Of course, if the condition that they build only blocks of flats for middle-income-group people is not imposed, these companies will build only luxury houses. They would also try to evade the whole business of house building and dream of going back to their old business of buying land at cheap rates and selling it after development (even the modest sale prices brought handsome returns). Our scheme is totally different. *It implies a joint endeavour of the public authorities and private companies.* The DDA finds it difficult to acquire, develop and dispose of land on a really large-scale owing to limitations of finance and administrative procedure. According to our scheme, the DDA will acquire land and supervise the development of such land and the house construction on it by private land and housing companies which will have to sell these houses at *controlled rates*. Private companies will be attracted to the scheme for the simple reason that if there were a land defreeze today and they had to acquire raw land, the cost of acquisition would not be four annas per sq. yd. as in the good old days but at least Rs. 20. They should, therefore, welcome the handing over to them of DDA-acquired land on condition that they build houses. Our estimate is that the proposed land and housing companies will make a profit of 30 to 40 per cent. *The people of Delhi will also get the much needed relief if land is sold at the rate of Rs. 25 per sq. yard and 2-room flats are sold for Rs. 10,000.* Of course, a hire-purchase scheme will have to be introduced. This should be possible in a joint venture of DDA and private companies. Under the scheme, the possibility of renting out houses at standard rents determined by the rent controller may also be explored.

(6) As regards raising finances, we do not see any reason why, in view of the fact that housing is a basic need, the DDA should not operate wholly on a no-profit-no-loss basis. As for subsidy for slum clearance programmes, etc., there are enough luxury houses in Delhi which can be taxed at special rates. For example, we would suggest a tax on lawns in Delhi subject, of course, to certain specifications.

(7) In order to solve the housing problem, mass housing should be developed as an industry, preferably in the public sector.

(8) As we have pointed out, the Delhi Master Plan has been grossly violated and the whole of Delhi is studded with hundreds of ugly, sub-standard, unauthorized colonies. The difficult task of a thorough evaluation of the working of the Master Plan and its revision must be immediately taken up by the DDA.

(9) There are far too many agencies concerned with land and housing and the least that we can ask for is a central clearing house for all manner of data without which no policy can be formulated or evaluated. For example, even such simple data as the number of approved houses built in Delhi from year to year are not readily available. Steps should also be taken to prepare an up-to-date and detailed map of Delhi showing the urban sprawl. If necessary, aerial photography should be resorted to for this purpose. No physical planning is possible in the absence of such maps.

(10) The DDA should give serious thought to the need for further acquisition of land beyond the urbanizable limits of Delhi and also to the urgent need for

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE RICH AND THE NEW RICH IN DELHI— THEIR LAND AND HOUSES

WHEN Edwin Lutyens was commissioned to plan and design New Delhi in 1912, Herbert Baker, one of his associates, wrote to him:

"It is really a great event in the history of the world and of architecture, that rulers should have the strength and sense to do the right thing. It would only be possible now under a despotism—some day perhaps democracies will follow.... I wonder what you will do—whether you will drop the language and classical tradition.... It must not be Indian, nor English, or Roman, but it must be Imperial... Hurrah for despotism!"

In spite of the "hurrah for socialism" which is the prevailing fashion in New Delhi, our housing policies and programmes are still haunted by the "hurrah for despotism". The gap between rhetoric and reality is perhaps nowhere as great as in New Delhi. In this city, the architectural style is still a hang-over of the imperial theme dominating New Delhi, the housing standards are still colonial, the municipal laws and bye-laws obsolete and the housing policy subsidises the privileged few in the higher-income-groups. People who own cars very often live within walking distance of their offices while the poor who cannot afford to buy even cycles are settled on the outskirts of the city. Scarce building materials have been diverted to build huge mansions for almost every Ministry: Krishi Bhavan, Udyog Bhavan, Yojana Bhavan, Rail Bhavan, Transport Bhavan, Shram Shakti Bhavan, Indraprastha Bhavan, Shastri Bhavan, Patel Bhavan, and so on, but primary school children have still to study in tents, braving the extreme heat and cold of Delhi. The ministers and high officials who have air-conditioned offices are allotted first-floor rooms while the juniormost officers without air-conditioning facilities are given rooms on the fifth floor. Thanks to the beautification schemes, New Delhi today is studded with lovely fountains but taps run dry for several hours every day in many localities.

New Delhi is full of luxury housing, thanks to the diplomatic personnel, the foreign experts, and the offices of several so-called research institutions. The

¹ Christopher Hussey: *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*. London, Country Life Ltd., 1953, p. 247.

rents of these houses are often paid in foreign currency. The Delhi Development Authority which takes years to acquire land and develop it sells residential land to the rich through auctions on the plea of collecting money for the poor. On these DDA-auctioned plots luxury houses go up, and the rich get richer. Rich Indians living in Singapore and Bangkok are enthusiastic bidders in DDA auctions. This land is "sold" on lease and the ground rent is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the premium. But in a new colony for displaced persons from East Pakistan where the land (on lease) is supposed to be "sold" to refugees on a no profit-no-loss basis, the ground rent is 3 per cent per year on the premium.

The minimum rent for a one room tenement in Delhi is anywhere between Rs. 60 and Rs. 80 per month. The Delhi Development Authority is selling land at the rate of Rs. 60 per square metre, and houses for the low income group for anything between Rs. 12,500 and Rs. 22,000. If a person belonging to the middle income group constructs a house, he has to spend Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 60,000. Can the low income and middle-class groups afford the high rent and the high cost of building houses? One is tempted to suggest at once a hire-purchase scheme. But what is the record of such schemes? Let us take the example of Delhi again.

The Delhi Development Authority allots houses on a hire-purchase scheme for middle income and low income groups in Delhi. The middle income group is defined as one earning within the range of Rs. 7,201 to Rs. 15,000 per annum. The cost of a house for such a group is between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 30,000 and, under the rules, in some localities, the period of hire purchase is five years. Thus a person has to pay at least Rs. 5,000 every year. A person getting, say, Rs. 10,000 a year cannot afford to pay 50 per cent of his income for his housing, and if the income is, say, Rs. 7,201 a year, how can he possibly pay Rs. 5,000, that is, about 70 per cent of his income for housing? Similarly, in the case of low-income groups, a person who earns Rs. 4,000 a year has to pay anything between Rs. 12,500 and Rs. 22,000 in five years, according to the DDA schemes. Suppose his house costs Rs. 20,000 he will be required to pay Rs. 4,000 per annum which is his total income. In other words, a person in the low income group is required to pay 100 per cent of his income for his housing. This is an absurd proposition.

Myths about Urban Housing

It is necessary to explode some of the widespread myths about urban housing. For example, it is generally assumed that the hardships of the salaried people can be mitigated if the house-rent allowance is increased from time to time. But experience shows that this does not serve any purpose as the rents increase faster than the house rent allowance. This happens because there is a shortage of housing. The popular explanation for this shortage is that population is increasing fast. But is it not also a fact that it is not profitable to build any but luxury houses? Is it not true that it is much more profitable just to buy land and do nothing but wait for the unearned increment instead of building middle-class houses? Here again the tendency is to blame land speculation and get

over the problem. But why not face the fact that we have to think in terms of the economics of the housing industry and not just take a philosophical position. Either Government takes up the responsibility for housing, which it cannot for obvious reasons, or it encourages the housing industry. The present position is to discourage the industry without the Government stepping in. This only deepens the crisis.

The current thinking on housing can be summed up as follows: (1) As far as possible people should buy plots and build their own houses (these plots may be even as little as 25 sq. yards in area); (2) if they don't have the money they should be given loans on a long-term basis provided they have the capacity to pay back the loans; and (3) if they are too poor to buy land, build houses and pay back loans, they should be given subsidised houses.

These three principles seem quite reasonable but let us look at the realities of the housing situation.

The very first thesis, namely, people should buy plots and build houses is inconsistent with the demographic and economic situation in the cities. India is a densely populated country and the cities have the highest density. To think in terms of plots of land with a little house, a little kitchen garden and a small lawn is either utopian or anti-social. The plain fact is that there is not enough residential land in the cities to distribute plots to people. And even if this is done by encroaching upon the surrounding rural areas, the result will be a sprawl which is wasteful and uneconomical in terms of the provision of urban infra-structure like water supply, sewerage, electricity, transport and so on. We just cannot get away from the fact that cities, and especially Indian cities, must be compact areas with high densities and vertical expansion.

Let us turn to the second proposition. Taking loans may be practical for a small fraction of rich and upper-middle-class people but for the great majority of people, this is an irrelevant proposition. In Delhi one has to spend about Rs. 1 lakh (Rs. 100,000) to buy a plot of land and build a house. For 90 per cent of the population it is not a loan but a lottery prize of Rs. 1 lakh which can enable them to build a house. In rural areas one can build his own house but this is not so in a city unless, of course, it is a sub-standard unauthorized construction. The economics of housing should make it clear that for the overwhelming majority of the people in cities, owning a house is a distant dream.

We now come to the third proposition: Let the Government provide subsidised housing for the weaker sections of the population. But in India, the majority of the population is economically weak. And how many things can the Government subsidise? Food, clothing, housing, education, medical aid...? The Government would never have enough money to solve even the housing problem alone.

In urban Delhi house rents have risen so high in the last few years that a person with an income of Rs. 200 per month has to spend 70 per cent of his income on house rent alone because Rs. 140 per month is about the minimum rent in Delhi today for a set of two rooms. Putting food and house rent together one arrives at a figure which is 140 per cent of the income! The inevitable result

is a cutting down on housing and taking refuge in slums and unauthorized structures in unauthorized colonies

The Delhi Master Plan was confronted with this dilemma while providing for housing standards. In 1957, according to the calculations of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the economic rent for a one-room dwelling unit of average standard was Rs 28 per month while a two-room dwelling had an economic rent of Rs 41 per month. But according to the Greater Delhi Survey conducted by V K R V Rao and P B Desai in 1956, 82 per cent of the households in Delhi earned less than Rs 250 per month. The average household income in Delhi was estimated at Rs 182. Commenting on this, the Delhi Master Plan said:

... this shows that an average household does not earn enough to pay the economic rent of even a single-room dwelling unit. Assuming 10 per cent of the household income as rent paying capacity, only 20 per cent of the total households can afford unaided housing for themselves. This is apparently the fundamental reason which makes the housing programme ineffective, since housing for at least 80 per cent will have to be subsidised by the Government.²

The results of a recent study done by us on the rent structure of six posh localities in New Delhi based on municipal records for 1964-65 reveal the picture presented in Table 1 (it may be noted that the rents recorded for municipal assessment of taxes tend to be underestimates). The average monthly rent in these colonies was Rs 700 (Table 2).

There is a concentration of foreign embassy staff, foreign experts, private company offices and guest house and semi-Government and Government establishments in these colonies (Table 3). Judged by the number of vacant houses (Table 4) there is a surplus of U-Sector housing in New Delhi today.

TABLE 1—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES IN SIX NEW DELHI LOCALITIES BY RANGE OF MONTHLY RENT 1964-65

<i>Rent per month (Rs)</i>	<i>Per cent of houses</i>
Less than 100	10.0
100-200	17.2
200-500	28.3
500-1000	19.6
1000-2000	16.1
2000-3000	6.0
3000 and over	2.8
TOTAL	100.0

² Delhi Development Authority *Master Plan For Delhi*, Vol I, New Delhi 1961

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT IN SELECTED COLONIES IN NEW DELHI

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Average Rent (Rs.)</i>
Friends Colony	1,567
Sunder Nagar	1,223
NDSE II	582
Greater Kailash I	459
NDSE I	282
Hauz Khas Enclave	185

TABLE 3.—PER CENT OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY FOREIGNERS, COMPANY EXECUTIVES, ETC.

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Sunder Nagar	59.3
Friends Colony	53.9
NDSE II	10.4
Hauz Khas Enclave	6.8
Greater Kailash I	5.8
NDSE I	3.7
TOTAL	15.6

TABLE 4.—PER CENT OF VACANT HOUSES IN SELECTED COLONIES, 1964-65

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Greater Kailash I	34.6
NDSE II	24.8
NDSE I	19.4
Hauz Khas Enclave	7.6
Friends Colony	1.0
Sunder Nagar	0.4

All this fits neatly with Krishnamurti's thesis: "The power elite sets the standards for the style of living.... The standards are set at the top which include A-type bungalows ... air-conditioned offices and bed-rooms, refrigerators, limousines, air-conditioned railway and Caravelle air-travel, select clubs and restaurants...."³

At the other extreme, in Delhi today there are 198 unauthorized colonies built in complete disregard of municipal standards which house over 5 lakh people.

³ B V Krishnamurti, "Power Elite Planning for People's Welfare," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 May 1967, pp. 959-76.

These people live under the constant threat of demolition of their houses by municipal squads

New Delhi used to be a city of middle-class people. Today the middle-class is vanishing. In the last fifteen years the polarization in housing standards has been continuously increasing. The future is dismal. The exclusive urban preserves—the U-sector colonies—and the sprawling, proliferating unauthorized colonies will further heighten the disparity in housing standards. But, surely, a place will be reserved for the graveyard of our "socialistic pattern of society."

The New Rich in a Delhi Fringe Village

The Law of Land Acquisition and Compensation of 1894 still governs the acquisition of land for public purposes.⁴ Under Section 4 of this Act, Government notifies its intention to acquire land for a public purpose and notices are served to the owners of the notified land. Under Section 5A of the Act, all objections of land owners are invited within 30 days of the notification. Under Section 6, the intention of acquiring a particular piece of land becomes concrete and the details are published in the official gazette, and under Section 7 the Collector makes an order for the actual possession of the land by Government. It is important to note that the compensation paid is at the prevailing market rate on the date of the notification under Section 4 of the Act. As is well known, there are considerable time lags between the notification under Section 4 and the actual possession of land under Section 7 and the land usually lies frozen for several years. There are also numerous cases of prolonged litigation. During this intervening period, land prices rise but the compensation paid takes no note of this rise in prices. So there is a feeling in many quarters that the Law of Land Acquisition is unjust insofar as it deprives land owners (and these are not always big land-owners) of any share in the huge profits made by private colonizers and Government through the ultimate auction of the acquired land.

An interesting problem for investigation, therefore, is what happens to the land-owners who have to part with their land? What do they do with the money they receive as compensation? Do they join the ranks of the landless proletariat? Do they squander away the money in conspicuous consumption or do they invest it in productive enterprises? Is there any shift in the occupational pattern of persons whose lands are acquired? What, on the whole, has been the impact of land acquisition on people who have received considerable sums of money on account of such compensation?

In an attempt to answer some of these questions we conducted a survey based on personal interviews in a fringe village of Delhi. We met with opposition at the initial stages because of suspicion on the part of the awardees that we were income tax people in disguise. It took quite some time for us to overcome this initial difficulty but we did finally succeed (at least, that is what we feel) in collecting fairly reliable data. But because of the time involved, we had to res-

⁴ A comprehensive review of this Act has been undertaken recently. See Government of India, *Report of the Land Acquisition Review Committee on Land Acquisition Act 1894*, Delhi, 1971.

trict the survey to only 28 households. This survey may, therefore, be treated as a pilot investigation. We may point out that we had at least one yardstick to assess the reliability of our data in respect of the total amount of compensation money and we did not have to depend on the figures given by the respondents which would have invariably been gross underestimates. Before launching the survey, we collected from Government records detailed plot-by-plot data of the land acquired and the compensation paid.

The village under study is on the outskirts of New Delhi where the land was acquired by the Delhi Development Authority for a new Government housing colony. The total land acquired was 7,261 *bighas* over the period 1957-67. The total compensation paid by Government was Rs. 2.11 crores. The land was acquired in several stages. Initially, 4,000 *bighas* were acquired in 1957 and the process continued till all the 7,261 *bighas* were acquired by 1967. The total compensation was paid in 26 awards spread over the period 1958 to 1967.

We summarize below our main findings in respect of 28 households which parted with their land comprising 1,337 *bighas* (one *bigha* = 1,008 sq. yards) and received total compensation amounting to a little over Rs. 27 lakhs (Rs. 2,700,000). On an average, the cost of acquisition was Rs. 2.90 per sq. yard. The maximum area acquired from the 28 land-owning households was 375 *bighas* and the minimum was 11 *bighas* while the maximum compensation paid was a little over Rs. 7 lakhs (Rs. 700,000) and the minimum was Rs. 5,000. The average share per household was about Rs. 1 lakh. The distribution of these 28 households by amount of compensation received is as follows:

<i>Amount of Compensation paid</i>	<i>Number of Households</i>
Below Rs. 10,000	2
Rs. 10,000 to 20,000	8
Rs. 20,000 to 50,000	13
Rs. 50,000 to 100,000	2
Over Rs. 100,000	3
TOTAL	28

Before we turn to the investment of this compensation money, it is important to note that the awardees were paid by crossed cheque and not in cash. Our inquiry reveals that hardly any money was taken out of the banks in the first six months. In other words, there was no impulsive spending out of the huge amounts of money received by the land-owners who were all Jat cultivators. It is also worth noting that half the number of awardees were illiterate and received no institutional or Governmental help in making their decision about the investment of the compensation money. Of course, these villagers did discuss among themselves the different avenues of investment but our survey reveals that, by and large, they did not strike any bright idea except to put the money into buying land elsewhere. One awardee, however, put some money in a private finance company which promised a high rate of interest but the company

collapsed and the awardee came to grief. The entire village came to know about this and that was the end of putting any more money in private companies. One of the awardees went into the taxi business while another started a "commercial college" (a typing and shorthand school). Two more put their money in brick kilns while another started a dairy. In spite of our repeated interviews we could not get any data on the purchase of gold and ornaments. However, one of the most interesting revelations was the political aspirations of the new rich and the amount of money spent in fighting (though unsuccessfully) elections. Though the awardees themselves gave a very low figure (lower than the legal maximum) for the amount of election expenditure, the circumstantial and other evidence which we collected revealed that the election expenses were as high as Rs 187,400. One of the awardees spent over Rs 150,000 (excluding Rs 40,000 given as donations to some educational institutions) for a parliamentary seat while another awardee spent about Rs 37,000 for a Metropolitan Council seat.

Of the 28 households which lost their land, 12 had already bought agricultural land in other villages, while the remaining 16 were waiting to buy land. It was found that land acquired from the 12 households was 891 *bighas* and the compensation paid was Rs 23.24 lakhs while the land bought by the 12 households after the compensation money was received comprised 1,437 *bighas* and the amount spent was Rs 5.74 lakhs. In other words, the persons who lost their land acquired over 60 per cent more land, but spent only 25 per cent of the compensation money. It may also be noted that there was little evidence to show that while purchasing land the motive was speculation. That is to say, no effort was made to buy land on the urban fringe of Delhi in the hope that prices would rise. The villagers adopted a safe policy of buying agricultural land at a cheap rate in distant areas, as far away as 40 miles in Haryana State. It is also worth noting that, without a single exception, every household which purchased land increased the area of land under its possession and yet conserved the major portion of its compensation money in bank accounts. But there was a general reluctance to invest on agricultural improvement. The ambition was just to become landlords. Most households leased out the newly acquired land.

The new status of these families had a good effect on the education of their children. Earlier, the children used to work on the farms. Now they are all going to school. They are now the children of landlords and their labour is no more required on the distant farms owned by their parents.

None of our respondents admitted that they spent any money on drink. However, it was generally admitted that the incidence of drinking had increased in recent years. In regard to the general level of consumption, the respondents said that they were spending more money on vegetables than before (it may be noted that Jats are vegetarians). There was no other notable improvement in the general level of living except in the case of one respondent who purchased a car and another who purchased a motor-cycle.

Table 5 summarizes the pattern of disposition of the compensation money.

To sum up, our survey shows that as a result of the acquisition of land by Government in a fringe village of urban Delhi large amounts of money were

put into the hands of cultivators who were by and large illiterate and who received no help in deciding how to invest this money. As a positive measure we recommend that Government should, in such situations, form house-building

TABLE 5.—PATTERN OF DISPOSITION OF COMPENSATION MONEY

	<i>Total amount Rs.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
(A) Bank Accounts, etc.	1,357,050	53.23
(1) Fixed deposits (Bank)	760,500	29.83
(2) Savings account (Bank)	372,100	14.59
(3) Savings account (PO)	70,350	2.76
(4) Bond	100,000	3.92
(5) Money loaned	36,600	1.44
(6) Finance companies	5,000	0.20
(7) Cash in hand	8,000	0.31
(8) Insurance premia	4,500	0.18
(B) Purchase of Land	573,500	22.49
(C) Development Expenses on Farm	86,500	3.39
(1) Wells and tube-wells	29,000	1.14
(2) Tractor	20,000	0.78
(3) Construction and sheds	18,500	0.73
(4) Diesel engine	10,000	0.39
(5) Implements and bullocks	9,000	0.35
(D) Construction of Houses	171,000	6.71
(E) Special Expenditure	139,200	5.46
(1) Repayment of loan	3,200	0.13
(2) On marriage	14,500	0.57
(3) Illness	1,000	0.04
(4) Education	24,000	0.94
(5) Election*	24,000	0.94
(6) Donations	40,000	1.57
(7) Supplementing family budget	32,500	1.27
(F) Conspicuous Consumption	23,000	0.90
(1) Car	19,500	0.76
(2) Motor-cycle	3,500	0.14
(G) Investment	199,350	7.82
(1) Brick-kiln	172,000	6.75
(2) Taxi	12,000	0.47
(3) Commercial college	10,000	0.39
(4) Dairy	5,350	0.21
TOTAL	25,49,600	100.00

*This is the reported figure; our estimate is Rs. 1,87,400.

societies (for urban housing) and induce the awardees to invest at least a major portion of their compensation money in such societies. This will serve the twin purpose of raising the much needed money for housing finance and also of ensuring that the illiterate villagers' money is safe and properly invested. Such societies could be run on sound business principles, assuring continued profit to the shareholders—the villagers whose land is acquired for a public purpose. In the absence of such a scheme, much of the money paid as compensation lies blocked in banks. Our survey does not reveal that the persons who lost their land have joined the ranks of the landless proletariat. On the contrary, they are on their way to joining the emerging new rich. It can be argued, however, that they would have been richer if Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 had not specifically mentioned that the compensation paid should be at the market rate on the date of such notification. In other words, the average compensation of Rs. 2.90 per sq. yard would have been much higher if the compensation was paid at the market rate on the date of actual possession of the land by Government (the price of land in the neighbouring private colonies of our fringe village was around Rs. 100 per sq. yard). If this were done, the new rich would have been fabulously rich. But it does speak well of the Jat cultivators in our fringe village that they did not squander away their money but bought more land than they had possessed prior to the acquisition of their original land and improved their image and status in their society as bigger land owners.

PART SIX

Urban Planning and Policy

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SOME ASPECTS OF PLANNING OF SATELLITE TOWNS, NEW TOWNS AND INDUSTRIAL REGIONS

ONE LESSON of western urbanization that the developing countries may profitably learn is that it is economical in the long run to have an overall policy for guiding the course of the urbanization process from the very beginning of development

The observations of Catherine Bauer are pertinent

It is sometimes assumed that the general principles for urban planning and improvement are universal, equally applicable to London and Tokyo, Bombay and San Francisco. But this seeming similarity between the metropolitan problems of advanced and developing countries can be highly misleading. For the dynamics of 20th century urban development in Asia is quite different in many respects from that in England or North America. Fundamental distinctions in time and place, as well as in degree of industrialization, all tend to affect the whole process, including the nature of the problems and the method of attacking them.¹

In the developing countries, the process of economic transition commenced during the colonial period. But the actual development was limited, tardy and unbalanced and was oriented to the needs of the colonial powers. Urbanization did make its appearance during the colonial period but it resulted in the growth of primate cities, some of which emerged into agglomerations of quite unmanageable size like Calcutta and Djakarta. These cities functioned essentially as trade and administrative centres. Their integration with the domestic economy and with the regional hinterlands around them remained extremely partial. Their growth was haphazard and unplanned excepting in cases where settlements were designed to accommodate the ruling elite and military personnel. The colonial urban sector in general was thus characterized by an acute degree of congestion of people in sub-standard housing deprived of social and muni-

¹ Catherine Bauer, *The Optimum Pattern of Urbanization: Does Asia Need a New Type of Regional Planning?* Working Paper for the UN Seminar on Regional Planning, Tokyo 1958, pp. 12.

cial services. The manner in which urbanization occurred brought about also the retainment of rural modes of living within cities.

Economic development has been an emerging force in most of these countries since the end of the second world war. This development has been directed towards the building up of basic economic overheads. A number of heavy as well as light industries began to be established. But, for the most part, the development is still in its first phase of laying down the foundations. Even so, there has been considerable acceleration of the process of urbanization. This acceleration is evidently related to the general process of rapid population growth which is rendering rural communities increasingly incapable of accommodating further increases of population. This has led to aggravation of problems faced in larger cities and has therefore served to lend a great deal of urgency to the question of urbanization. The problem that further development must take into consideration has assumed two well-defined aspects: (a) the question of the growth of existing primate cities, and (b) the setting up of new communities to meet the demands of economic development.

The application of the lessons of western urbanization by the developing countries is, at least in theory, facilitated by the fact that they are undertaking economic development through the agency of national planning. Planning promises adequate account being taken of social needs as distinguished from the individual interest that was the motive force behind western industrialization. In order to apply this lesson, planning has to be so comprehensive as to permeate all sectors of the economy and to take, at the same time, a fairly long-range perspective. What is crucial in the process is to achieve progressive integration of the different sectors of economic activity through a phased programme of technological advancement. *The major handicap faced by these countries is the current low level of incomes, lack of capital, and the great paucity of the foreign exchange resources needed for meeting imports of capital goods and technical knowhow. The prospects of economic development are, however, enhanced on account of the increasing role that foreign aid from advanced countries is playing in their development.*

It is possible to envisage the structure of economy that will sooner or later emerge as the development potential is released in these countries. It will be a structure where the status of secondary and tertiary sectors will compare favourably with the agricultural or primary sector. This change will be reflected also in the composition of the labour force in which the share of industry, transport, trade and services will increase at the cost of agricultural employment. Correspondingly, spatial patterns of population distribution will change in favour of the urban sector as against the rural sector. In this process, there is need for a positive policy which will help the existing and new settlement units within the urban sector in playing the role of promoting economic growth. The general criterion for such a positive policy should be the functional integration of settlement units at different levels of the economy. In the evolution of such an integrated national pattern of development, new towns and satellite towns will clearly play a major role.

The case for development of new towns and redevelopment of the existing

towns in particular and thereby evolving a suitable pattern of population distribution rests on the ground that settlements are a conditioning factor in the process of growth and efficient conduct of economic activity. The content of modification of the population distribution as determined by location, function, size and internal structure of new and "renovated" towns will necessarily depend on the nature of economic development in general and technological advancement in particular. Technology will play a crucial role in three specific fields of the progressing economy, namely, transport, power generation and manufacturing. The role of technology in agricultural production is also relevant here.

Technological development in the field of transport is particularly important, for it will be the means by which different communities will be integrated. In most of the developing countries, transport and communications are grossly deficient. During colonial rule, railways were developed in many of the developing countries but they were designed to link hinterlands with ports and operated to promote the subservient role of the domestic economies. The existing railway systems have, therefore, to be extended and readapted to suit the new requirements of economic development. But it must be recognized that in view of the heavy investments involved and, especially, the foreign exchange requirements, the crucial role in the process will be that of road transport. In several developing countries, extensive programmes of road development have been undertaken. These are designed to link hitherto isolated communities with regional and national centres. It is apparent, however, that the bulk of transport development is yet to come and it should be possible, therefore, to guide this development with a view to rendering it suitable for the emerging pattern of population distribution.

The second important field of technological development is power generation. Power generation had been grossly neglected in economies under colonial rule. Limited exploitation of coal resources did take place. Electricity was introduced, but generation rested on oil and diesel or thermal power. Hydro-electric power generation remained exceptional. It is this field of hydro-electric power generation that has attracted the attention of the developing countries. A review of the available literature suggests that hydro-electric power has considerable potentialities of development in most of these countries. In India, for example, development during the first two five-year plans has been heavily loaded with multi-purpose river-valley projects. Some of these have already been completed. The installed power capacity has increased from 2.3 million kw to 5.7 million kw during the first decade of planning (1951-61). The present programmes of power development suggest that, in most of these countries, an electric grid will play a major role in the field of power supply. In India, plans have been laid out to envelop the entire southern part of the country with a unified network of an electric grid system in the next few years. Ultimately, it is expected that the entire country will have easy access to power through an electric grid. This will mark a revolution in the field of power supply. This type of power development promises considerable scope for adaptation of the spatial pattern of population distribution.

The problem of technological development in the manufacturing field is rather involved. It is clear that this secondary sector will expand greatly in the course of development. Division of labour and specialization of function, and mechanization of processes will progressively assume greater importance. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention that the *laissez faire* industrialization of the West led to large agglomerations in search not only of location and scale economies but also of what have been called urbanization economies¹ which accrue on account of the size of population, infra-structure facilities and services provided in cities and the easy access to commercial and other facilities shared in common by different types of industries. It must be noted that two of the factors that led to centripetal trends in manufacturing activities, namely, "mobile" electricity and road transport, are likely to play a relatively much more important role in industrialization of the currently developing countries than was the case in the comparable stages of development in industrialized countries. The question really is one of balancing the different types of economies of scale, location and urbanization. In the context of recent Western experience it does appear that urbanization economies are not so vital for manufacturing activity as the economies of scale and location.

The task in the field of manufacturing is one of channelling new industrial activity so as to counteract centrifugal tendencies noticed in particular in the organized private sector of the economy. This is rendered possible by the fact that economic development is planned and is operated through the regulative powers of the government, especially in the field of licensing of new industries and the expansion of existing industries. In this connection it must be noted that, in practice, very often political and other local interests tend to compromise the economic principles of industrial location. This adds to the social costs of industrialization.²

In most of the developing countries, the bulk of the manufacturing sector consists of small-scale and household establishments. These are neither adequately mechanized nor do they employ skilled labour and their levels of productivity are low. The problem here is to modernize, mechanize and rationalize the whole small-industry sector. Many of these countries have launched schemes in this field as part of their development plans. Among these programmes, the most promising is that of industrial estates which are designed to establish planned industrial communities of small and medium size in which a pool of modern services needed by small individual entrepreneurs is provided. In the developing countries there is considerable scope for modernizing the private, unorganized manufacturing sector through the instrument of industrial estates.

¹ For a theoretical exposition of the different types of economies, see Walter Isard: *Location and Space Economy: A general theory relating to industrial location, market areas, land use, trade and urban structure*. New York, 1956, Chapter 8.

² It may be pointed out, however, that most existing small towns in developing countries are extremely deficient in industrial infra-structure and, under existing conditions, the big cities continue to have definite advantages for the private entrepreneur. One cannot get past this problem by saying that in the big cities social costs are high. As long as there is a private sector, considerations of private cost cannot be ignored.

The requirements of planned decentralization⁴ should be kept in view when taking decisions in regard to location of industries. It is possible to evolve patterns of technological development in the secondary sector which are neither contingent on large urban units nor lead to agglomerations of unmanageable size.

While technological development in the above-mentioned fields will determine the basic patterns of population redistribution, other aspects of economic development still influence the policy of the functional development of communities. The most important of these factors is the problem of the growing pressure of population which manifests itself in different forms like rural underemployment, urban unemployment and the prevalence of a large number of marginal occupations in the tertiary sector. The question of utilizing the available manpower resources as fully as possible and of training the existing and new labour force assumes added importance in the task of economic development. The planned supply of qualified manpower through appropriate training and educational programmes is increasingly engaging the attention of the planners. The existing cities have limited resources for this purpose. New resources have to be created and it may be possible to determine the location of new facilities in the light of the needs in the different regions.⁵

The scope for establishing new self-sufficient communities as an integral part of economic development is thus very large. In order to realize these large potentialities, it is necessary that the new development be planned at the different levels involved. The functions for which planned development of new towns could be undertaken are varied. New towns are required in the development of space-bound natural resources, they are needed for new mining undertakings,

⁴ The conclusions of a study of industrial estates in India are pertinent to our discussion here.

It is very difficult to establish successful estates in backward areas where the necessary infra structure of communications, markets and financial facilities is lacking. Some estates, which are situated in the neighbourhood of quite large towns offering reasonable general facilities, have nevertheless been slow to develop because of a shortage of local entrepreneurs and skilled labour.

This study injects a dose of realism in the romantic ideas of decentralization when it says: 'The policy of setting up estates at long distances from their neighbouring towns seems, sometimes to be mistaken for a policy of decentralization of industry. The problem of decentralization is a problem of location and not of siting. It would be an odd kind of decentralisation which merely resulted in estates being put up as far away as possible from their associated towns.'

P. N. Dhar and H. F. Lydall, *The Role of Small Enterprises in Indian Economic Development* Bombay, 1961 pp. 44-45.

⁵ The role of training and the development of entrepreneurial talent and other skills in the task of economic development has been brought out by several studies sponsored by the Small Industries Extension Training Institute, Hyderabad, India. See J. E. Stepanek and others, *Industrialization beyond the Metropolis: Current Developments in India*. Paper submitted to the Far East Conference of the Regional Science Association, Tokyo (September 1963). This paper points out that to establish a concentration of industry within 20 years similar to that existing in Japan today, India would require about 20 000 new enterprises to be established every year (p. 19).

for exploitation of new oil fields and development of multi-purpose river valley projects. Such new colonization has been accelerated in several of the developing countries. In India, for example, many new towns have sprung up in areas where development activity has for technological reasons been located at or near the sources of natural resources. This experience has led to the realization that the new towns must be developed as an integral part of regional development and these must help regional schemes. There has been a tendency, however, to regard such towns as uni-functional⁶ and adequate research has yet to be undertaken to examine the scope for adding new functions unrelated to the raw-material in question, but capable of utilizing the overhead facilities that are being created.

New towns are very likely also to play an important role in the progress of agricultural economy. Modernization of agriculture depends not only on marketing, storage and such other facilities but also on services that are needed for improving agricultural practices. There is also the question of absorbing the excess load of surplus labour from agriculture, and of dealing with the streams of rural to urban migration. The new functions to be undertaken with respect to agriculture are, provision of services including marketing, credit, storage, etc., setting up of agro-industries for processing of agricultural products and for meeting the needs of tools and implements required by the peasants, and also development of small-scale light industries producing goods for the rural population. In other words, the new towns must meet the demands of a broad-based pattern of industrialization keeping in view the requirements of the rural sector.⁷

Turning to the situation in the existing big cities, we may mention that apart from the high social cost of industrialization involved in further straining the meagre social overheads in these cities, there are strictly economic considerations which inhibit development of these areas. The utter inadequacy of industrial infra-structure in these big cities is adversely affecting the efficiency of the industries already located there.

In the existing cities, there is a complex inter-mix of functions; residences and commercial and industrial activities co-exist in extreme conditions of congestion though only a part of the industrial activity in these cities is of the

* For a useful over-all review of new towns in India, see T. J. Manickam, L. R. Vagale and others; "New Towns in India," in United Nations Report, *Public Administration Problems of New and Rapidly Growing Towns in Asia*, New York, 1962. The paper points out: "It is regrettable that very little research has been carried out in connexion with the new towns in India. It is therefore not possible to assess whether India has succeeded in planning adequately for the economic, social and cultural needs of the people settled in the new communities" (pp. 21-22).

⁷ The two important aspects of a programme of broad-based industrialization are: "(a) development of transportation on the basis of regional planning, high priority being given to those lines of communication which will strengthen the growth of nuclei of industrial activity in the countryside; and (b) development of nuclei of industrial activity in the rural areas on the basis of establishment of small townships having a sound and suitable agro-industrial base." B. N. Ganguli: "Institutional Implications of a Border Plan with special reference to China's Experience" in Government of India: *Papers relating to the Formulation of the Second Five Year Plan*. New Delhi, 1958, p. 531.

modern type. The bulk of it is conducted in small-scale and handcraft establishments. These are evidently inefficient and suffer from a number of handicaps, including lack of finance, equipment, technical know-how, skilled labour, etc. They are concentrated in the most congested areas of the cities, the object being to keep in as close touch with the established market as possible. The value of land occupied by these industries has soared so high during the last decade or so that the current market rents are very much beyond the capacities for these units to shoulder. They are, in this sense, extremely over-capitalized though on account of the rigidity of the rent structure, which is in most cases regulated by government control, the actual charges are not high. There is a clear economic case, therefore, for substitution of these inefficient and uneconomic processing establishments by other units which can utilize the space much more intensively and pay rentals at uncontrolled market rates.

Apart from this, the economic case for deconcentration of population rests also on the ground of inefficiencies occasioned by congestion in operating functions of trade and commerce within the congested parts of these cities. For one thing, the spatial distribution of functions within these cities is such as to involve a tremendous amount of cross haulage of both men and materials. There are also the problems connected with slums and unhealthy living conditions. It is possible to deal with these problems through an appropriate policy of industrial deconcentration resting purely on economic considerations.

It is to be noted that these are cities which have grown rapidly during the post-war period, and which continue to grow on account of migration from rural areas and from other smaller urban communities. The problem thus is not one of deconcentrating the existing population but also of dealing with the continuing inflow of migrants. There is, thus, a clear case for developing new and satellite towns around such large cities in such a manner that within the region over which their expanding influence is likely to spread there obtains a rational distribution of functions. In this connection, the existing uneconomic users of sites have to be relocated in new and satellite towns and the space so released developed for intensive use by such functions as trade, administration, banking, insurance and other services which may serve from this location, the entire region. The redevelopment of the large cities thus makes it imperative that the unit for planning must be the region to which their function may be related.

To counteract the attractions of the existing cities, the development of satellite communities in the area of planning may not be sufficient. The flows of immigration into the cities have to be counteracted by diverting new development into other settlements. Here the question would be whether to redevelop existing smaller urban units surrounding the city or to establish entirely new towns to act as "counter magnets." The existing small towns will merit consideration for development into counter-magnets insofar as they possess potentialities for the requisite expansion of the urban infra-structure. The smaller towns, in general, in the developing countries do not have this advantage. On the contrary, they have numerous problems in respect of living conditions. Apart from this, the initial investment to be made in land may also be against

them as compared to development of new sites. New towns established for diverting migration flows away from existing cities will have to be integrated communities providing employment opportunities and social services comparable to the city itself.

We may now proceed to consider the scope for development of towns outside the existing urban sector. The functions that new towns have to perform are: (i) to develop space-bound natural resources; (ii) to act as catalytic agents of progress within the rural agricultural sector; and (iii) to accommodate growth of industries, especially of the light consumer type, which offer some flexibility of location. In the case of the first function, the problem of general location does not, strictly speaking, arise but siting and laying down the land-use pattern is important. The new industries will increasingly attract other industries as well as migrants in search of employment. In course of time, therefore, they will have to develop an urban infra-structure and a land-use pattern for accommodating other economic activities as well. It may be economic to envisage their development as a part of the development of the region in which they are situated.

The development of new towns in the rural areas rests on the needs of modernization of agricultural services, promotion of industries using agricultural raw-materials, the so-called agro-industries, and absorption of surplus man-power which is likely to accumulate further on account of the very progress of agriculture. Their location has to be central to any defined agricultural region where these functions have to be carried out. These are the communities which will provide the intermediate link between larger cities and the rural hinterland. Their central position in regional development requires that their land-use pattern be planned from the beginning on the basis of an assessment of the scale of central urban functions for the given region as a whole. What is important here, as in case of other types of new towns, is that these should be located and laid out so as to enable them to grow into viable urban communities.

For the third type of development, for accommodating growth of industries and permitting flexibility in location, there is a choice between existing towns and new towns. Theoretically speaking, existing towns have a potential for infra-structure development which may help in minimizing investment in town development. In many cases, it may, however, be found that the solution of the existing problems of such towns on account, particularly, of the weaknesses of their economic base may involve costs larger than the benefits to be received by expansion of infra-structure potential. New town development in such cases will have to be preferred. The location of the new towns will have to strike a balance between the advantages of the market for these industries and of access to existing pools of under-employment. From both these points of view, the advantages of location appear to be in the vicinity of existing cities. Their land-use pattern should be guided by a consideration of the scope for increase in their size.

It is clear that these different types of new towns will have to be developed over a period of time and that their development must proceed in well-defined phases. The ultimate model is, of course, that of a viable community, self-sufficient in matters of employment, community facilities and social services.

The urban infra-structure and social services will develop through a rather slow process of growth, in view particularly of the paucity of investment resources. What is important is to have a reasonably comprehensive plan for their long-range development. The first phase of this plan must concentrate on the development of the economic base, together with the minimal infra-structure of economic and social overheads required for the purpose. Once the process of growth is thus commenced, the development will have to be nursed for a considerable period of time by provision of urban services and fiscal benefits, particularly with a view to attracting new industries. The success of the phased development will depend first on the acquisition of land within the envisaged ultimate jurisdiction of the township and on adequate land use planning of the entire area. Phasing will have to be undertaken for all the basic services, including supply of water, electricity, drainage and sewerage and roads for internal circulation. In the land use plan, adequate provision must be made from the beginning for social services, particularly of health and education. In fact, these services must be viewed as essential for economic development.

Industrial Regions

We shall now briefly comment on the development of industrial regions in India with special reference to the *Durgapur-Ranchi-Rourkela Region*.

If there is one region in India which stands out as the region of future, it is the *Durgapur-Ranchi-Rourkela Development Region*. It comprises several districts of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. It is neither a geographical region nor a river-valley region, and certainly not an administrative region. It is not a metropolitan region which has grown round a dominant city. We may, for the sake of convenience, call it the basic industrial region of India—the region which will provide the industrial infra-structure of the nation's economy. It has one of the richest mineral belts of India, some of the largest power generation units (both thermal and hydro-electric) and the highest concentration of the steel-heavy-engineering complex in India. The full potentialities of this region may not be realized before 1981 or so but some day it will be an area of pulsating industrial complexes.

It is high time that attempts are made to take note of recent advances in the field of regional science and to direct our thinking towards scientific regional planning. The decentralization of industries is a worthy objective but in the absence of basic overhead facilities like cheap power and transport, there cannot really be any decentralization. "Balanced regional development" is another worthy objective but in the absence of rigorous regional analyses, no clear formulation of policy emerges and we are left with only platitudes, clichés and philosophical statements.

In a region, there should be both concentration of industries and decentralization of industries. The concentration should not be round a few dominant cities but in the whole region. Decentralization should not mean the multiplication of nodal points which are not functionally related to each other, but diversification of the economy on a sound economic basis,

ensuring, as far as possible, an optimum distribution of population in settlements of varying sizes—from hamlets to million-plus cities.

We do not propose to go into the details of regional planning here. Our objective is merely to emphasize the need for regional planning as understood by students of modern regional science which is different from the demands made by local politicians for locating industries in their own regions and the clamour for providing employment opportunities for "sons of the soil". To quote an authority on regional planning:

A regional plan that is evolved from the study of detail and from a new and comprehensive realisation of the object constitutes a synthesis of many different requirements. Starting with a profound understanding of the economic and ecological development, the plan attempts to create the most suitable environment for human life, activity and cultural development. The plan aims at the development of communities adapted in size, distribution and occupation to the best possible use of land and natural resources within their regions—towards an optimum of human productivity and habitability. The comprehensive regional plan is not, for all that, an exact scientific work merely; it is science brought to practical application; it embodies both practical and aesthetic values; it may be called a plan for great enterprises of social art.*

The region we are discussing has five steel plants—two established before Independence (Jamshedpur and Burnpur) and three under post-Independence Five Year Plans—Rourkela, Durgapur and Bokaro (Fourth Plan). Further, there is a giant heavy engineering complex at Ranchi, a locomotive manufacturing factory at Chittaranjan, coal washeries at Kumardhubi and other places, plants for heavy coal mining machinery at Durgapur, an iron foundry at Kulti, engineering industries at Kumardhubi, cycle and glass works at Asansol and a fertilizer factory at Sindri. The Dhanbad-Jharia coal belt is in this region. There are also large deposits of minerals like iron ore, manganese, mica, bauxite in this region. Then there are a number of power-generating units like the Chandra-pura and Patratu thermal stations, and the DVC hydro-electric units at Maithon, Panchet and other places.

In this region there is over-lapping of three complexes, namely (i) a mineral complex, (ii) a power complex, and (iii) a steel and heavy-engineering complex.

From the socio-political point of view, this region has three interesting characteristics: (i) The most ultra-modern technology in the field of industry is being imported into a region which has a large tribal population which supplies the bulk of the industrial labour in several places. The impact of the forces of industrialization and modernization on tribal life is a fascinating field for study by sociologists. (ii) This region will have, in the years to come, a large population of organized industrial labour which will inevitably lead to considerable trade union activity. This will have its repercussions on the voting pattern in the

* Artur Glikson: *Regional Planning and Development*. Leiden, 1955, p. 21.

general elections (iii) In developing the region there has been extensive foreign financial and technical collaboration—British, American, German, Russian, Czech, Polish, etc. This lends an international aspect to development programmes in the region

The Planning Commission has grouped and classified the different districts of India into resource-development regions on the basis of (i) physical factors—topography, soils, geological formations and climate, and (ii) agricultural land use and the cropping pattern*

The region demarcated by us is not based on geographical factors alone. Our primary emphasis is on economic factors, and especially on the industrial potential of the region, determined on the basis of availability of raw materials, power and transport. It is interesting to note that this region is not dominated by any single city. In fact, the largest city in this region, Jamshedpur, had a population of only 303,156 in 1961. In 1971 the population was 465,200. If there is proper regional development the major industrial concentrations will be functionally related to each other in a manner which will permit the most efficient utilization of the human and natural resources of the region. In other words, these cities will not grow *at the cost* of the surrounding rural areas or in competition with other cities but in tune with the demands of regional development. And if our regional planning efforts succeed, we will have a pattern of industrialization and urbanization which will be very different from the pattern witnessed in the past—unplanned and lop sided urbanization and the development of a few nodal points without any economic integration with the surrounding region. For the success of this type of regional planning, cooperation among the States of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa is absolutely essential. Viewed in this context, the problem of location of industrial plants should not arouse any political discussion as is usually the case today but should be regarded as a strictly technological and economic proposition. In other words, extra-economic considerations should be *totally ruled out*. This would ensure the maximum exploitation of the economic potential of the region. A speedy development of the Durgapur-Ranchi-Rourkela industrial region would mean tremendous possibilities for increasing employment opportunities, and with improvement in the health and educational levels there will be enough scope for full employment of the labour force within the region. We must hasten to add that one should not get away with the feeling that this region will be a special preserve of the Eastern States. In fact, this should be the *basic national region of India par excellence*—a region which will trigger off the forces of rapid economic growth all over India. We have rational highways. Why not have national regions? Balanced regional development does not mean identical development plans, for in no country in the world do all parts of the country have the same resource endowment. There will be areas of heavy concentration of industries and it would be naive to condemn every such concentration and to glorify decentralization merely because it is opposed to concentration. There can be nothing more harmful to balanced development than the creation of a large

Appendix to Chapter Fourteen

TABLE 1.—SELECTED DATA FOR DISTRICTS COMPAIRING THE BIHAR-WEST BENGAL-ORISSA INDUSTRIAL REGION, 1961

States & Districts	Area (sq miles)	Population (thousands)	Density	Sex ratio	Per cent of population in age group 15-59	Literacy rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
BIHAR						
1 Ranchi	7,035	2,139	304	987	52.7	19.1
2 Dhanbad	1,109	1,159	1,045	792	59.4	25.5
3 Hazaribagh	6,986	2,396	343	991	52.3	14.5
4 Singhbhum	5,152	2,050	398	960	55.3	22.9
5 Santhal Parganas	5,489	2,675	487	980	53.3	14.6
6 Palamau	4,914	1,188	242	984	51.4	13.5
W BENGAL						
1. Burdwan	2,705	3,083	1,139	858	55.5	29.6
2. Birbhum	1,743	1,446	830	973	52.3	22.1
3 Bankura	2,647	1,665	629	981	53.4	23.1
4 Midnapur	5,253	4,342	826	945	52.7	27.3
5 Purulia	2,407	1,360	565	973	57.6	17.8
ORISSA						
1 Sundergarh	3,788	759	200	915	56.7	19.7
2 Mayurbhanj	4,022	1,204	299	991	53.8	14.2
3 Keonjhar	3,217	743	223	982	53.4	17.7
4 Sambalpur	6,765	1,509	231	995	57.6	22.9
Total for 15 districts	63,232	27,716	438	952	54.1	21.3

(Contd)

TABLE 1 (contd.)

States & Districts	(1)	(8)	(9)	Working force participation rate	% distribution of working force by three sectors		
					Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
		(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
BIHAR							
1. Ranchi		4.6	61.6	56.3	86.4	6.1	7.5
2. Dhanbad		17.9	11.1	48.8	74.2	9.5	16.3
3. Hazaribagh		12.5	11.3	48.4	85.0	7.0	8.0
4. Singhbhum		3.0	47.3	51.7	74.0	13.6	12.4
5. Santhal Parganas		7.6	38.2	52.5	86.2	5.9	7.9
6. Palamau		25.9	19.2	47.8	87.2	4.4	8.4
W. BENGAL							
1. Burdwan		24.5	5.8	33.7	61.8	16.1	22.1
2. Birbhum		29.1	7.4	31.2	77.0	8.1	14.9
3. Bankura		29.6	10.4	36.4	78.9	9.3	11.8
4. Midnapur		13.0	7.6	32.4	76.8	8.9	14.3
5. Purulia		14.8	19.3	48.7	86.1	5.3	8.6
ORISSA							
1. Sundergarh		9.6	58.1	50.5	69.1	11.4	19.5
2. Mayurbhanj		8.7	60.6	51.8	86.1	6.4	7.5
3. Keonjhar		13.9	47.1	45.1	85.6	5.4	9.0
4. Sambalpur		16.2	29.1	52.3	73.9	10.9	15.2
TOTAL for 15 districts							
		14.9	25.1	44.2	79.3	8.7	12.0

TABLE 2.—SELECTED INDICATORS OF CHANGE, 1951-1961

States & Districts	Pop Growth Rate 1951-61		No of towns		No of new towns		Urban proportion		Urban sex ratio		Urban literacy	
	Total	Rural	Urban	In 1951	In 1961	In 1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1)												
BHAR	159	125	619	3	9	6	68	95	844	817	451	530
1 Ranchi	279	151	1726	4	19*	16*	88	250	656	645	280	428
2 Dhanbad	237	217	511	8	10	2	69	84	803	815	371	402
3 Hazaribagh	205	146	496	11	12*	2*	170	211	814	797	496	505
4 Singhbhum	152	138	432	7	10	3	42	53	829	825	30	472
5 Santhal Parganas	205	193	823	3	5	2	20	30	853	830	216	421
6 Palamau												
W. BENGAL	407	350	732	14	19	5	148	182	777	699	373	496
1 Burdwan	356	348	461	5	6	1	65	70	851	844	333	426
2 Barisal	262	259	291	5	5	—	72	73	946	905	177	424
3 Bankura	293	290	122	11	14	3	75	77	885	830	347	465
4 Midnapur	163	162	179	5	5	—	67	68	921	889	303	453
5 Pundia												
ORISSA	374	160	7835	2	4	2	28	179	903	630	186	397
1 Sundergarh	170	153	2064	1	2	1	09	24	742	810	387	513
2 Mayurbhanj	263	228	1226	4	7	3	16	43	925	780	312	307
3 Keonjhar	159	115	2421	1	2	1	40	77	882	804	370	430
4 Sambalpur												
Total for 15 districts	244	211	667	84	129	47	74	99	828	769	338	464

*In view of the 1961 definition of "town", one town each of 1951 was declassified and removed from the list of towns in 1961 in the districts of Dhanbad and Singhbhum.

TABLE 1 (contd.)

States & Districts	% distribution of working force by three sectors					
	(1)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		% of scheduled castes	% of scheduled tribes	Working force participation rate	Primary	Secondary
						Tertiary
					(11)	(12)
						(13)
BIHAR						
1. Ranchi		4.6	61.6	56.3	86.4	6.1
2. Dhanbad		17.9	11.1	48.8	74.2	9.5
3. Hazaribagh		12.5	11.3	48.4	85.0	7.0
4. Singhbhum		3.0	47.3	51.7	74.0	13.6
5. Santhal Parganas		7.6	38.2	52.5	86.2	5.9
6. Palamau		25.9	19.2	47.8	87.2	4.4
						7.5
						16.3
						8.0
						12.4
						7.9
						8.4
W. BENGAL						
1. Burdwan		24.5	5.8	33.7	61.8	16.1
2. Burdhum		29.1	7.4	31.2	77.0	8.1
3. Bankura		29.6	10.4	36.4	78.9	9.3
4. Midnapur		13.0	7.6	32.4	76.8	8.9
5. Purulia		14.8	19.3	48.7	86.1	5.3
						22.1
						14.9
						11.8
						14.3
						8.6
ORISSA						
1. Sundergarh		9.6	58.1	50.5	69.1	11.4
2. Mayurbhanj		8.7	60.6	51.8	86.1	6.4
3. Keonjhar		13.9	47.1	45.1	85.6	5.4
4. Sambalpur		16.2	29.1	52.3	73.9	10.9
						15.2
TOTAL for 15 districts		14.9	25.1	44.2	79.3	8.7
						12.0

TABLE 2—SELECTED INDICATORS OF CHANGE, 1951-1961

States & Districts	Pop Growth Rate 1951-61		No of towns in 1951		No of towns in 1961		No of new towns in 1961		Urban proportion		Urban sex ratio		Urban literacy	
	Total	Rural	Urban	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
	(2)	(3)	(4)											
BHAR														
1 Ranchi	15.9	12.5	61.9	3		3	9	6	6.8	9.5	844	817	45.1	53.0
2 Dhanbad	27.9	15.1	172.6	4		4	19*	16*	8.8	25.0	656	645	28.0	42.8
3 Hazaribagh	23.7	21.7	51.1	8		8	10	2	6.9	8.4	803	815	37.1	40.2
4 Singhbhum	20.5	14.6	49.6	11		11	12*	2*	17.0	21.1	814	797	49.6	50.5
5 Santhal Parganas	15.2	13.8	43.2	7		7	10	3	4.2	5.3	829	825	3.0	47.2
6 Palamau	20.5	19.3	82.3	3		3	5	2	2.0	3.0	853	830	21.6	42.1
W BENGAL														
1 Burdwan	40.7	35.0	73.2	14		14	19	5	14.8	18.2	777	699	37.3	49.6
2 Burdham	35.6	34.8	46.1	5		5	6	1	6.5	7.0	851	844	33.3	42.6
3 Bankura	26.2	25.9	29.1	5		5	5	—	7.2	7.3	946	905	17.7	42.4
4 Midnapur	29.3	29.0	32.2	11		11	14	3	7.5	7.7	885	830	34.7	46.5
5 Purulia	16.3	16.2	17.9	5		5	5	—	6.7	6.8	921	889	30.3	45.3
ORISSA														
1 Sundergarh	37.4	16.0	783.5	2		2	4	2	2.8	17.9	903	630	18.6	39.7
2 Mayurbhanj	17.0	15.3	206.4	1		1	2	1	0.9	2.4	742	810	38.7	51.3
3 Keonjhar	26.3	22.8	122.6	4		4	7	3	1.6	4.3	925	780	31.2	30.7
4 Sambalpur	15.9	11.5	242.1	1		1	2	1	4.0	7.7	882	804	37.0	43.0
Total for 15 districts	24.4	21.1	66.7	84		129	47	7.4	9.9	828	769	33.8	46.4	

*In view of the 1961 definition of town, one town each of 1951 was declassified and removed from the list of towns in 1961 in the districts of Dhanbad and Singhbhum.

TABLE 3.—SELECTED DATA FOR AREAS COMPRISING THE INDUSTRIAL CORE REGION, 1961

Sub. Division, and towns	Area (sq. miles)	Total pop.	Pop. growth rate 1951-61	Density	Sex ratio	Lit- eracy rate	% of sche- duled castes	% of sche- duled tribes	Work- ing force parti- cipa- tion rate	% distribution of workers	Per cent of workers in manu- factur- ing		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
I. Sagar Sub. Div. (Dhanbad)	618.4	742,387	—	1,200	749	28.0	16.4	13.2	48.8	69.5	11.6	18.9	8.4
1. Dhanbad	10.5	57,352	68.3	5,483	641	55.4	6.7	1.9	38.5	14.8	18.1	47.1	11.3
2. Sijua	1.5	9,997	New	6,801	605	26.0	32.1	1.9	46.7	86.4	5.6	8.0	3.2
3. Loyabad	1.0	11,553	New	12,034	459	24.0	29.2	0.4	55.3	86.6	3.8	9.6	0.7
4. Kerkend	0.9	6,498	New	7,141	629	35.2	29.7	4.4	44.9	64.1	6.4	29.5	5.0
5. Jharia	2.2	33,683	27.2	15,451	712	48.1	6.6	0.3	35.8	12.8	23.3	61.9	18.0
6. Jorapokar	2.4	15,595	New	6,418	597	34.7	13.8	2.3	45.1	69.7	7.0	23.3	5.0
7. Bhowrah	2.1	10,587	New	5,114	610	26.3	29.3	5.1	50.9	79.6	6.0	14.4	3.6
8. Jamadoba	0.6	6,568	New	10,767	623	41.5	17.2	0.8	40.8	45.2	10.1	44.7	4.6
9. Sindi	23.0	41,315	216.7	1,799	669	49.4	4.5	8.4	40.0	21.2	51.0	27.8	47.1
10. Tira	1.3	7,470	New	5,702	551	20.7	40.6	7.8	57.2	92.6	1.4	6.0	0.9
11. Kumardhubi	0.8	16,542	New	20,939	684	41.6	17.1	2.0	38.3	1.7	76.5	21.8	71.6
12. Chirkunda	2.0	9,477	New	4,811	740	38.5	21.5	2.6	36.7	23.4	27.3	49.3	20.8
13. Dumarkunda	2.4	8,670	New	3,674	597	25.2	34.1	5.6	52.0	80.8	9.8	9.4	6.7
14. Maithon	2.3	8,033	New	3,539	677	52.3	13.2	4.9	40.9	14.6	10.4	75.0	4.7
15. Panchet	2.3	4,700	New	2,017	708	45.7	4.6	5.8	40.4	17.2	10.2	72.6	3.9

		20603	898911	—	436	948	229	41	502	229	775	91	134	35
III. Sadar Sub Div														
(Ranchi)														
1 Ranch		114	122416	146	10748	793	577	35	206	303	92	247	661	158
2 Doranda		40	17837	New	4459	784	570	46	53	311	49	276	675	208
3 Khelari		51	5779	New	1135	855	325	131	289	349	464	151	385	65
4 Muri		16	4654	New	2964	793	449	48	130	375	172	381	447	271
5 Lohardaga		22	13203	251	5974	920	477	44	153	305	188	295	517	117
III. Dhalbhum Sub Div														
(S ngbbhum)														
1 Jarnshedpur		300	303516	391	10117	787	527	46	62	328	18	628	354	544
2 Jugsalai		05	24528	New	49056	755	479	39	03	332	15	456	529	361
3 Ghats la		37	8487	New	2325	884	413	102	120	306	245	308	447	221
4 Mouhbandar		14	5843	388	4204	860	474	24	74	327	55	660	285	568
5 Musabani		20	7599	456	3838	685	487	82	25	381	755	45	200	20
IV. Asansol Sub Div														
(Burdwan)														
1 Asansol		40	103405	356	25659	664	553	61	02	350	13	225	762	197
2 Burdwan		75	65284	2531	8693	653	472	106	18	366	26	694	280	664
3 Raniganj		19	25939	—139	16277	773	459	161	06	329	35	439	526	361
4 Ondal		11	18645	1348	17425	656	525	113	02	379	14	310	676	270
5 Ukhra		28	7871	New	2781	697	341	282	14	226	538	149	313	70
6 Jamuria		24	17216	New	7173	651	258	300	77	403	756	57	187	39
7 Kulti		31	34280	93	11239	723	417	200	01	341	56	680	264	632
8 Namatpur		25	12630	74	5072	817	305	183	44	318	190	173	637	124
9 Barakar		13	14174	358	11399	718	351	212	21	344	235	323	342	275
10. Dhergath		19	9437	203	5074	801	387	322	36	367	564	130	306	59
11 Chitranjan		65	28957	792	4434	753	619	63	07	304	01	874	125	868
12. Durgapur Steel Project area		246	35346	New	1438	332	639	23	22	632	—	833	67	591
13 Durgapur Cokeoven area		39	6350	New	1641	369	649	16	07	577	—	817	183	593

(Contd.)

TABLE 4—DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN 9 INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES FOR TOWNS IN THE REGION, 1961

District & Town	A1 cultivators	A2 agricultural labourers	A3 In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, etc	A4 household industry	A5 In manu- facturing other than household industry	A6 In construction	A7 trade and commerce	A8 In transport, storage & communi- cation	A9 In other services
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I. DHANBAD									
Dhanbad	384	015	1082	210	1125	470	1203	1923	3588
Sua	580	017	8046	079	317	167	231	094	469
Loyabad	083	002	8575	169	066	147	199	131	628
Kettend	—	—	6409	065	500	079	3357	682	908
Jharia	002	004	1277	255	1797	274	2799	624	2968
Jorapokhar	230	011	6735	048	503	145	276	209	1843
Bhowrah	464	005	7487	123	358	121	251	316	875
Jamdoba	—	—	4522	272	463	276	489	2018	1960
Sindri	1330	288	504	240	4712	158	344	290	2134
Tisra	—	—	9261	009	091	040	176	070	353
Kumardubi	014	—	156	173	7156	325	522	229	1425
Chirkunda	135	006	2199	270	2075	380	1782	848	2305
Dumarkunda	1144	031	6904	219	665	098	197	064	678
Maithon	966	262	232	338	472	228	244	405	6853
Panchet	1211	053	458	453	390	179	421	121	6714
II RANCHI									
Ranchi	542	123	252	428	1580	466	1485	984	4140
Doranda	016	106	372	175	2078	503	678	550	5522
Lohardaga	1565	146	164	1629	1171	151	2019	628	2527
Muri	1697	—	023	872	2712	224	361	2529	1582
Khelari	3442	952	249	781	646	082	948	328	2572

(Contd)

TABLE 4 (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
III. SINGHPHUM									
Jamshecpur	0.68	0.20	0.97	1.45	54.38	5.92	8.31	5.35	21.74
Jugsalai	0.44	0.07	1.04	2.15	36.09	7.31	25.61	6.86	20.43
Ghatsila	8.75	7.46	8.21	1.89	22.05	6.86	10.83	7.44	26.41
Moubhandar	1.89	0.68	2.98	2.20	56.83	6.96	5.65	2.09	20.72
Musabani	—	—	75.49	1.49	2.04	0.97	1.49	1.00	17.52
IV. BURDWAN									
Asansol	0.27	0.21	0.81	0.62	19.67	2.24	22.02	25.97	28.26
Burnpur	0.78	1.08	0.70	0.33	66.38	2.72	10.54	1.40	16.07
Kaniganj	0.62	0.43	2.49	4.66	36.08	3.14	23.27	8.47	20.84
Ondal	0.82	0.21	0.38	0.91	27.04	3.06	9.73	48.27	9.58
Utkal	5.19	6.38	42.19	1.07	6.97	6.83	13.30	3.88	14.19
Jamuria	0.56	—	75.03	0.56	3.89	1.25	10.76	1.28	6.67
Kulti	0.39	0.12	5.09	0.26	63.17	4.60	9.90	1.49	14.98
Nuamtpur	2.07	0.40	16.58	1.77	12.42	3.06	22.32	23.47	18.91
Barakar	1.07	0.37	22.02	1.95	27.51	2.83	19.51	5.33	19.41
Dishergarh	2.05	0.92	53.42	0.95	5.92	6.15	7.65	1.59	21.35
Chittaranjan	—	—	0.05	0.20	86.77	0.44	2.43	1.16	8.95
Durgapur Steel Project	—	—	0.02	0.02	59.06	24.22	2.64	0.85	13.19
Durgapur Cokeoven Project	—	—	0.03	—	59.29	22.40	3.00	0.71	14.57
V. SUNDARGARH									
Rourkela	1.47	0.13	1.40	2.28	34.09	9.75	7.17	10.43	33.28
Burnitrapur	6.70	0.11	27.64	1.58	9.59	2.21	3.79	5.24	43.14
VI. SAMBALPUR									
Sambelpur	1.99	0.52	1.68	11.46	10.36	2.63	15.91	10.51	44.94
Brajrajnagar	0.20	0.20	9.08	0.83	64.60	1.07	4.68	1.41	17.93
Hirakud	0.13	0.03	1.34	4.50	22.30	32.93	4.81	2.01	31.95
Burla	8.72	1.24	2.66	4.60	5.58	5.89	5.95	3.25	62.11
Jharsuguda	7.82	0.90	1.50	7.97	9.85	1.30	13.71	23.43	33.52

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF FACTORIES CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY, POWER USED AND SIZE OF EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES* (URBAN AREAS ONLY), 1961

District	Kind of fuel or power used	No. of factories and workshops by size of employment							
		Total	1	2-5	6-9	10-19	20-40	50-99	100+
I. Dhanbad	Total	611	227	287	36	32	13	5	11
	All fuels	464	139	234	30	32	13	5	11
	Electricity	160	26	76	15	21	7	4	11
	Liquid fuel	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—
	Coal, wood, etc.	272	108	136	13	10	5	—	—
	Other power	28	5	21	1	1	—	—	—
	No power	147	88	53	6	—	—	—	—
II. Ranchi	Total	682	265	326	41	25	18	5	2
	All fuels	542	198	268	34	20	16	4	2
	Electricity	108	14	62	15	4	10	1	2
	Liquid fuel	20	3	2	—	9	3	3	—
	Coal, wood, etc.	234	71	134	19	7	3	—	—
	Other power	180	110	70	—	—	—	—	—
	No power	140	67	58	7	5	2	1	—

(Contd.)

(Contd.)

*The following major groups according to standard industries classification have been covered: 32.—Rubber, Petroleum & Coal Products; 33.—Chemicals & Chemical Products, 34 & 35.—Non-metallic Mineral Products other than Petroleum & Coal, 36.—Basic Metals & Their Products except Machinery & Transport Equipment; 37.—Machinery (all kinds other than Transport) & Electrical Equipment, 38.—Transport Equipment, 39.—Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries.

TABLE 5 (contd.)

District	Kind of fuel or power used	No. of factories and workshops by size of employment							
		Total	1	2-5	6-9	10-19	20-40	50-99	100+
III. Singhbhum	Total	903	350	444	41	28	12	4	24
	All fuels	614	203	313	34	24	12	4	24
	Electricity	163	45	57	19	10	10	4	18
	Liquid fuel	6	—	—	—	5	1	—	—
	Coal, wood, etc.	369	141	199	14	9	—	—	6
	Other power	76	17	57	1	—	1	—	—
	No power	289	147	131	7	4	—	—	—
IV. Burdwan	Total	1,097	237	510	62	32	14	2	20
	All fuels	161	13	80	17	7	4	2	20
	Electricity	145	10	76	14	7	4	2	19
	Liquid fuel	7	1	2	—	—	—	—	1
	Coal, wood, etc.	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Other power	7	2	2	—	—	1	—	—
	No power	926	224	430	45	25	9	—	—

(Contd.)

V Sundargarh	Total	81	26	30	5	6	1	3	10
	All fuels	64	16	21	7	6	1	3	10
	Electricity	16	—	2	4	3	1	2	4
	Liquid fuel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Coal, wood, etc.	48	16	19	3	3	—	1	6
	Other power	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No power	17	5	11	1	—	—	—	—
VI Sambalpur	Total	300	135	148	7	3	2	1	4
	All fuels	261	119	126	6	3	2	1	4
	Electricity	33	13	11	3	3	—	1	2
	Liquid fuel	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
	Coal, wood, etc.	227	106	114	3	—	2	—	2
	Other power	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No power	39	16	22	1	—	—	—	—
TOTAL of 6 districts	Total	3 674	1 240	1 745	192	126	60	20	71
	All fuels	2,106	688	1 042	128	92	48	19	71
	Electricity	625	108	284	70	48	32	14	56
	Liquid fuel	39	4	6	2	14	5	4	1
	Coal, wood, etc.	1 152	442	602	53	29	10	1	14
	Other power	291	134	150	2	1	2	—	—
	No power	1 558	547	705	67	34	11	1	—

TABLE 6.—SELECTED DATA FOR DISTRICTS COMPOSING THE BIHAR-WEST BENGAL-ORISSA INDUSTRIAL REGION, 1971

State & District	R/U	Population (thousands)	Density per Sq. Km.	Sex Ratio (Females per 1,000 males)	Growth Rate 1961-71	Literacy Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
BIHAR						
1. Ranchi	Total	2,600	142	976	+21.59	22.89
	Rural	2,242		1,005	+15.80	17.47
	Urban	358		812	+76.96	56.78
2. Dhanbad	Total	1,466	508	786	+23.93	29.70
	Rural	827		886	- 7.37	20.35
	Urban	639		672	+120.44	41.80
3. Hazaribagh	Total	3,016	166	980	+27.15	16.18
	Rural	2,628		1,009	+21.04	12.56
	Urban	388		803	+93.09	40.65
4. Singhbhum	Total	2,439	181	946	+18.98	25.66
	Rural	1,790		1,001	+11.26	15.75
	Urban	649		803	+47.18	53.01
5. Santhal Parganas	Total	3,184	225	960	+19.00	15.64
	Rural	3,000		969	+18.46	13.62
	Urban	184		831	+28.51	48.70
6. Patna	Total	1,501	118	964	+26.40	15.15
	Rural	1,431		971	+26.43	13.62
	Urban	71		841	+23.65	46.06

(Contd.)

WEST BENGAL

1. Burdwan	Total	3,920	887	557	+27 17	34 44
	Rural	3,025	919		+19 96	29 12
	Urban	895	788		+59 57	52 39
2. Birbhum	Total	1,780	971	391	+23 07	26 39
	Rural	1,655	977		+22 98	24 84
	Urban	125	897		+24 28	46 93
3. Bankura	Total	2,035	961	206	+22 27	26 21
	Rural	1,883	964		+22 10	24 68
	Urban	152	926		+24 48	45 11
4. Midnapur	Total	5,315	944	405	+27 01	32 88
	Rural	5,092	951		+27 07	31 79
	Urban	423	870		+26 54	51 97
5. Purulia	Total	1,611	965	257	+18 42	21 88
	Rural	1,478	972		+16 62	19 61
	Urban	132	893		+43 14	47 13

ORISSA

1. Sundergarh	Total	1,031	944	106	+35 88	26 28
	Rural	791	996		+27 02	19 21
	Urban	240	788		+76 53	49 61
2. Mayurbhanj	Total	1,430	982	157	+18 74	17 90
	Rural	1,390	994		+18 21	16 83
	Urban	40	847		+40 58	55 30
3. Keonjhar	Total	955	981	115	+28 52	20 99
	Rural	888	992		+24 82	19 76
	Urban	67	840		+110 82	37 20
4. Sambalpur	Total	1,844	980	105	+22 24	27 00
	Rural	1,632	998		+17 15	24 26
	Urban	212	847		+83 72	48 11

TABLE 7.—SELECTED DATA ON CITIES IN THE BIHAR-WEST BENGAL-ORISSA REGION, 1971

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Growth rate 1961-71</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>	<i>Literacy rate</i>
Jamshedour	465,200	41.8	801	54.8
Dhanbad	433,085	115.9	664	41.9
Ranchi	256,011	82.5	804	59.9
Durgapur	207,232	397.0	776	56.3
Asansol	157,388	52.2	747	57.8
Rourkela	172,536	91.1	745	53.6

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ASPECTS OF URBAN HOUSING AND HOUSING POLICY

THE RELATIONSHIP between population and food has been a subject of a continuous discussion and debate for over 170 years, ever since Malthus propounded his famous principle of population. But when one turns to a formulation of the relationship between population and housing, one has to search for literature on this subject. There has been, no doubt, considerable discussion on slums ever since the days of the industrial revolution but it is only in recent decades that the subject of housing as such (and not merely slums) is engaging the attention of social scientists, planners and policy makers. Interestingly enough, the population-food equation has, by and large, ceased to have any significance in the developed countries of the world, but this is not true of the population-housing equation. Both in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. the housing situation is far from satisfactory. In the developing countries, it is worse because of the low income level of the people and the high rate of population growth. Thanks to the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, housing today is no more a neglected subject. But this international concern has to be matched by national housing policies and programmes based on scientific studies, not political platitudes.

Need for Re-examining Housing Policies

The crisis in housing in India and especially urban housing is to a considerable extent the result of our obsolete thinking on the subject of housing and unless some fresh thinking is devoted to the formulation of housing policies, the future is indeed bleak. Not that the housing problem has been solved in any country of the world in a satisfactory manner. Even in the U.S.A., the housing programmes are inadequate. Charles Abrams, one of the leading U.S. authorities on housing, recently observed:

There can be no sound debate in Congress on housing without a fresh study of current local situations. It is essential that each city be profiled in the context of its own environment and its own current requirements and HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development) should authorize these profiles without delay. When the studies are completed, they can

provide the pieces in the jigsaw that will disclose the true situation in the nation as a whole.

The federal officials who are making policy at HUD are men of integrity, but they should be curious and courageous enough to re-examine the housing situation as it currently exists. When and if that step is taken, an entirely new program may be indicated. I believe, when the facts are known, that Congress, too, may have the courage to ignore politics and rise to the occasion.¹

All this is true of India also. It is misleading to think in terms of the aggregate shortage of housing in India and start planning *from above*. We must know the housing situation in individual cities and towns and sub-regions to arrive at any meaningful assessment of housing in the country as a whole. Most of our officials and ministers associated with housing, both at the Centre and in the States, are fed on 19th century P.W.D. data regarding housing standards. It may also be noted that enactments about acquisition of land were made in the 19th century and so also several of our municipal laws and bye-laws. Our housing policies are thus still geared to the 19th century whereas the new generation will live and work in the 21st. This gap between the outlook of the 19th century and the requirements of the 21st has to be bridged.

As a recent United Nations Study, after a review of the squatter settlements in different parts of the world, points out:

Uncontrolled urban settlement is the product of the difference between the popular demand for housing and that demanded and supplied by institutional society. . . . Policy objectives and the institutional framework for their fulfilment are too often geared to one sector of society (the relatively wealthy minority) which makes them economically and culturally unacceptable to the remainder—the "remainder" being composed of four-fifths of the urban population.

This study argues that "the loss of control over urban settlement as distinct from the deficit of modern standard housing units is a consequence of institutional maladjustments due, in part at least, to erroneous beliefs and social attitudes." The study concludes that "it is evident that uncontrolled settlement is not the product of wilful lawlessness. It is clear that squatting and clandestine urbanization are the only solution for large and often dominant sectors of the urban population whose housing needs are inadequately served by society's formal institutions."²

Housing Industry

It is necessary to explode some popular myths about urban housing. For

¹ Charles Abrams: "Housing Policy—1937 to 1967" in Bernard J. Frieden and William W. Nash, Jr (Eds.): *Shaping an Urban Future—Essays in Memory of Catherine Bauer Wurster*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1969, p. 45.

² United Nations International Social Development Review, No. 1, *Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning*. New York, 1968, pp. 120-21.

example, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, it is generally assumed that the hardships of salaried people can be mitigated if their house rent allowances are increased from time to time. But experience shows that this does not serve any purpose as rents increase faster than house rent allowances. This happens because there is a shortage of housing. And the popular explanation for this shortage is that the population is increasing fast. But is it also not a fact that it is not profitable to build houses except perhaps luxury houses? Is it not true that it is most profitable just to buy land and do nothing and wait for the unearned increment instead of building houses? Here again the tendency is to blame land speculation and get over the problem. But why not face the fact that we have to think in terms of the economics of the housing industry and not take a philosophical standpoint. Either the Government takes the responsibility for housing, which it cannot for obvious reasons, or the Government encourages the housing industry to develop. The present position is that Government is discouraging the housing industry without Government stepping in to provide housing itself. This only deepens the crisis.

Institutional Housing for Migrant Workers

It is important to realize that in any worthwhile projection of the demand for housing it is necessary to consider the different sectors of the population according to income groups and not the total population as such. That everybody should have a house is obvious but this cannot be construed as the demand for housing, for much will depend on the ability to pay rent or to build houses. In other words, a distinction must be made between demand and effective demand. A housing policy must be evolved keeping in mind the demographic constraint of rapid population growth and the economic constraint of low levels of income. In urban areas, the rate of population growth is much higher than in rural areas on account of migration to the cities. It is well known that most of the migrants to the cities come in search of jobs and even when they get jobs they have rural ties and very often they maintain dual households. In other words, their demand for housing is primarily in terms of shelter and not family accommodation. And yet in our housing policies there is hardly any evidence of thinking in terms of creating institutional housing for migrants (mostly adult males who leave their families in the villages) who do not want to buy land and build houses in cities even if there is a hire purchase scheme. Our suggestion is that our Five Year Plans must provide for a network of *janata hostels* and transit camps for migrants at very low rents so that they do not have to squat or sleep on the pavements. A welfare state which can run luxury hotels should also be able to run modern *dharamshalas*. These hostels should be built on the lines of army or police barracks with large dormitories. This will cut down the cost of construction. These should not be confused with the "night shelters" in some cities which are primarily meant for destitutes.

Mechanical Calculations on Demand for Housing

The relationship between population and housing has to be worked out differently than the usual practice of projecting the population and the demand for housing to arrive at the figure of the housing gap which multiplied by the cost of an average housing unit gives the magnitude of housing investment. Such calculations, no matter how refined, will not lead us anywhere. The ultimate conclusion of such an exercise will be that we do not have enough funds. A plea will then be made for increased funds which will soon be dissipated in subsidising unimaginative low-cost housing programmes without making any appreciable improvement in the housing situation.

Policy for Controlling the Settlement Pattern as Part of Population Policy

Perhaps a more meaningful way of expressing the relationship between population and housing is in terms of the settlement pattern, both in the rural areas and in the urban areas. Just as the population problem is basically a problem of uncontrolled growth, the housing problem is basically a problem of uncontrolled settlement. And just as mere legislation cannot succeed in curbing the birth rate, town and country planning legislation alone will not succeed in controlling the settlement pattern. A whole range of demographic, economic and social factors has to be considered and suitable policies and programmes formulated. Viewed thus, housing policy is not merely a policy for building more houses but for controlling the environment, and it becomes a part of an over-all population policy aimed at a better matching of human and natural resources, a policy which takes due note of the growing pressure of population on land, the increasing pace of rural-urban migration, the sprawl of big cities and the incorporation of rural areas within city boundaries, the distribution of the working force in the urban areas, the distribution of persons by income groups, the types of family structure and their specific housing requirements, the need for institutional housing for adult males who leave their families in rural areas, the greater participation in economic activity by women and the need for institutional housing for the single working woman, etc. A detailed consideration of all these issues cannot be undertaken for the country as a whole in view of the wide regional differences.

Urban Housing in the Five Year Plans

Let us examine briefly the housing policy for middle- and low-income groups in the successive Five Year Plans. As early as 1949, the Industrial Housing Scheme was formulated which envisaged the issue of interest-free loans by the Central Government to the State Governments or private employers sponsored by the latter to the extent of two-thirds of the cost of housing schemes on the condition that the rent charged would not exceed 12½ per cent of the capital cost, subject to a maximum of 10 per cent of the workers' wages, the employer contributing 3 per cent of the cost of the houses. In 1952, a new policy was

announced whereby the Central Government was prepared to pay a subsidy up to 20 per cent of the cost of construction, including the cost of land provided the balance was met by the employer who would also let out the houses to genuine workers at rates suggested under the earlier scheme. The First Plan admitted "That these concessions have not produced the desired effect seems to indicate that the policy of paying subsidies, which has already been accepted, will have further to be liberalised as well as supplemented by loans." ³ The Plan recommended that subsidy should be paid to the State Governments up to 50 per cent of the total cost of construction including the cost of the land. The Plan also recognized that "for years to come the bulk of building activity will still have to be undertaken by private enterprise." ⁴

In 1954, the Low Income Group Housing Scheme was introduced which provided for the grant of long term house building loans at a reasonable rate of interest to persons whose income does not exceed Rs 6 000 per annum.

The Second Plan noted the progress made in regard to the national housing programme initiated in the First Plan. It referred in particular to Subsidised Industrial Housing Schemes as well as the housing programmes undertaken by the Ministries of Rehabilitation, Defence, Railways, Iron and Steel, Production, Communication, Works, Housing & Supply, etc. In regard to low income group housing, however, the Second Plan observed that "on account of high land prices and the lack of suitably developed sites progress in the construction of houses under the [Low Income Group Housing] scheme has not been as rapid as was hoped for." ⁵ The Second Plan advocated the following policy. It would therefore, appear desirable to provide assistance to State Governments and local authorities for developing sites for sale to persons who have low income and wish to build houses for their own use." ⁶ During the Second Plan an important development took place. The Life Insurance Corporation of India began to provide funds for house building to middle income groups and State Governments for undertaking rental housing for their low paid employees.

The Third Plan devoted considerable attention to the problem of controlling urban land values. Among other things it suggested the following measures: capital tax on transfer of freehold lands, taxation of vacant plots in developed areas with power to acquire if they are not built upon within specified periods and setting a ceiling on the size of individual plots and limiting the number of plots which a single party may be permitted to acquire.

The Fourth Plan (1969-74) observes that "the experience of public housing so far is that its unit cost is high and that with the constraint of resources it is not possible for public operations to touch even a fringe of the problem." ⁷ The Plan also says that "the private sector should standardise building com-

³ Planning Commission, India *First Five Year Plan* p. 599.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 600.

⁵ Planning Commission, India *Second Five Year Plan* p. 553.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 553.

⁷ Planning Commission, India *Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74)*, p. 402.

ponents and manufacture them on a large scale." We do not agree with this proposition. When the Government has entered even the business of hotel-keeping and bakeries, we see no reason why the basic need of housing the people should be ignored and the people left to the mercy of the private sector. The proposed ceiling on urban income will make sense only if the Government enters the housing industry in a big way and puts a ban on the construction of luxury housing and diverts the limited resources in terms of steel, cement, wood, glass and bricks, to a massive construction effort devoted to providing apartments to be rented to persons in the middle-income and low-income groups. There are examples of such housing programmes in Hong Kong, Singapore and other cities. But this calls for a radical reorientation in Government's thinking.

The present crisis in urban housing is basically a consequence of our out-moded thinking on the subject. Given the demographic constraint of rapid population growth and the economic constraint of a low level of per capita income, the solution of the housing problem in our urban areas calls for bold, imaginative, unorthodox thinking and action. Not that the urban housing problem has been solved satisfactorily anywhere in the world, but there are at least some outstanding examples of bold and imaginative housing programmes in different parts of the world from which we may well draw lessons.

It is also necessary to re-examine municipal laws and bye-laws, Rent Control Acts and other legislation affecting urban development. To some extent, corruption is inherent in the system of municipal administration. For example, according to a recent study of the working of building bye-laws in Delhi by V. Jagannadham, the Building Department of Delhi Corporation issues "invalid notices" to all the applications as a matter of routine even when the plans are quite in order. This is because, under the bye-laws, the Municipal Commissioner is required to accept or reject the building plans submitted for approval by the citizens within a period of sixty days. This study points out that the building bye-laws of Delhi were framed in 1915 and "these are hardly designed to cope with the kind of problems which Delhi had to face following Independence and the Partition of the country."⁶

Obsolete Rent Control

An example of obsolete laws is provided by the Rent Control Acts enacted during the Second World War. A number of surveys on the working of Rent Control Acts in Calcutta, New Delhi and Hyderabad sponsored by the National Building Organization (NBO) revealed their weaknesses. Summarizing the findings, a paper by NBO points out: "The rent control machinery is presently operating in a chaotic way. As a result, a majority of houses liable to rent control escape the provisions of the Rent Control Act just because cases have not been instituted in the law courts. Further, even the houses for which the rent has been fixed by the courts escape the implications of court awards in the event of the

⁶ V. Jagannadham: "Working of the Building Bye-Laws, with special reference to the Union Territory of Delhi" (mimeographed paper), 1969.

departure of the old tenant and entry of a new tenant ' * In many big cities there are cases where the landlord pays large sums of money to the tenant to induce him to vacate the house. The new tenant is then asked to pay the market rate which is much higher or pay "*pugree*" which again is a large amount.

Another point worth noting here is that the operation of the Rent Control Act ensures that the houses are not repaired and as such the housing stock gets depleted. There is no incentive at all for the owners of old houses to maintain these houses and the tenant undertakes only the *minimum of repairs from his own resources*. Needless to say, in most cases the standard rent is fixed at pre-war levels and has no relation to the market rates for similar accommodation. As for the new houses, many Rent Control Acts permit a tax holiday for the first five years by way of incentive for new construction. Theoretically the rent can be brought down after five years but in actual practice this never happens; it only goes up.

Rural Pockets

It is customary to think of rural housing as distinct from urban housing. But while doing so we have almost completely ignored rural pockets in urban areas and their special problems. Inherent in the process of urbanization is the urban sprawl and in the course of this sprawl a number of villages are engulfed. Let us take the example of Delhi. Kotla Mubarakpur was a village many years back. Today it is engulfed by Government colonies and also affluent private colonies. As is well known, an average village does not have toilet facilities in each house and the people go to the fields. This was true of Kotla Mubarakpur also. But today there are no open fields around the village; there are houses all over. The Delhi Master Plan did allocate some money for re-development of Kotla Mubarakpur and some work was done by way of broadening the road and providing electricity and filtered water but nothing was done to tackle the problem of latrines. Only 4 public latrines were built along with the new market but roughly 40,000 people of Kotla-Mubarakpur have still to use small patches of vacant land as latrines and the whole area stinks. In fact, it is a major health hazard. It is shocking to find that a park built in that area and named after Kasturba Gandhi is surrounded by litter and filth on all sides and it is not possible to reach the park without getting filthy. There are many more rural pockets like Kotla Mubarakpur in Delhi and there must be similar pockets in other cities also. What housing policy do we have for such areas?

* C. M. Palvia and S. N. Narang "Working of Rent Control and Its Effect on Creation of New Housing Stock (with particular reference to Metropolitan Towns of India)" (mimeographed paper), 1969.

INHIBITING FACTORS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING*

The first inhibiting factor in urban development is the lack of perception of the role of urbanization in economic growth and social change. Most politicians suffer from a guilt complex when they devote some thought to urban problems. Lest they are accused of an urban bias, they hasten to quote their favourite cliché that India lives in her villages and that the real problem lies in rural areas. Our politicians are not so naive as to believe that urban problems are not important. But their political common sense tells them that rural votes are far more important than urban votes and, therefore, harping on rural problems is regarded as good political strategy.

But this strategy has not always succeeded because all over the world, the cities exert an influence on the national life which is far out of proportion to the population contained in these cities. It is true that only 20 per cent of India's population is urban and the big cities (with population of over 100,000) account for hardly 10 per cent of the total population. But it does not follow from this that in terms of political and economic impact, the share of urban areas is 20 per cent and that of big cities 10 per cent. It has been said that world history is city history. This is true of Indian cities also. In this sense, Calcutta is West Bengal. Some of our politicians have at last realized that the continued neglect of Calcutta has been suicidal not only from the economic and social point of view but also from the political point of view. Calcutta is cut down to size only when elections are held because it is then remembered that the rural voters of West Bengal exceed by far the voters in Calcutta. This is also true of the other cities in India. This partly explains the lack of an urban lobby in the Parliament and State legislatures, and the continued neglect of the problems of urban development.

By and large, politicians, except those in predominantly urban constituencies, do not have any political compulsion to come to grips with urban problems as they do not have a stake in urban development. From time to time, the Government appoints Commissions, Committees, Study Groups, Panels, Task Forces, etc., and there is the annual ritual of Housing Ministers' Conference, Mayors'

*This paper was prepared at the request of the Ministry of Works and Housing for a seminar to discuss the formulation of a National Housing Policy, New Delhi, April 1972.

Conference, etc. But all these are exercises in futility. Ultimately nothing happens because there is not enough money. The politicians then take cover under spurious statistics. For example, *Housing Ministers terrify the average citizen* by telling him that to solve the housing problem the country needs Rs. 33,000 crores and how on earth can we get this money? Why quote these absurd figures? When the total Fourth Five Year Plan outlay is less than Rs. 25,000 crores,¹ what is the point in saying that housing alone will call for an investment of Rs. 33,000 crores? It may be recalled that in the Fourth Five Year Plan, the allocation for Calcutta was only Rs. 40 crores. In 1971, just before the mid-term poll, political common sense asserted itself and an allocation of Rs. 150 crores was made for Calcutta. But this ad hocism cannot bring about urban development.

Obsolete Approach

The casualness with which the whole field of urban development is treated by the Government will be evident from the way the Ministries are re-organized. Not long back, there was a Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development. After the recent reorganization, Urban Development was dropped. We have now a Ministry of Health and Family Planning, and a Ministry of Works and Housing. The grouping of departments on more rational lines must be welcomed, but what is disturbing is the fact that urban development was dropped as a result of this rationalization, though this subject continues to be the concern of the Ministry of Works and Housing. All over the world, the growing concern for the problem of urbanization and environment has led governments to think in terms of separate Ministries for Environment, but here, in India, we are content with a Committee on Environment. We have almost a sentimental attachment to "Works"—an obsolete British concept. The Public Works Department (P.W.D.) approach to urban development is one of the greatest inhibiting factors. It smacks of colonialism, corruption and a slavish mentality to stick to standards, specifications, norms, rules and regulations more suited to the 19th century than to the last decades of the 20th century. The first step towards modernization should be to establish a strong Ministry at the Centre called the Ministry of Housing, Environment and Urban Development.

Efforts should be made to build up a strong urban lobby in the Parliament and State legislatures. One method of doing this is to constitute a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Urban Affairs consisting of all members of Parliament elected from predominantly urban constituencies, regardless of their party affiliation. This Committee should endeavour to depoliticize urban issues and take a technical view of urban problems as far as possible. We are not suggesting that politicians should become technocrats, but we are pleading for making urban development a non-political issue as far as possible. Let us illustrate this point. In Delhi, when party X was in power, the opposition party Y took up the cause of slum-dwellers and unauthorized colonies, and denounced

¹ One crore = ten million

the government for demolishing unauthorized constructions. But when Party Y came to power and Party X became an opposition party, the party which had earlier opposed demolition of buildings made a great virtue of their record of demolition of unauthorized constructions and the party which wanted to demolish such constructions became the champion of the cause of non-demolition. In both the cases, the politicians fought for their respective parties and not for the cause of urban development. We would strongly plead for a truce among political parties as far as issues like squatting and unauthorized colonies are concerned. The human misery involved will be still greater if technical solutions are tampered by political considerations. We would also plead for Standing Committees on Urban Affairs in various State legislatures and for depoliticization of certain urban issues at the municipal level. A national urban development policy and a national housing policy should not be dictated from the Centre; these should evolve as a result of the continuous review of urban affairs at the municipal, state and central level. Annual meetings or occasional seminars and conferences are hardly substitutes for a continuous dialogue between politicians, administrators and planners. Of course, this dialogue should be meaningful and a machinery must be evolved for processing the material in a manner which leads to a more purposeful and realistic formulation of urban development and housing policies and programmes. Incidentally, the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee (1963) recommended the setting up of Directorates of Municipal Administration with a view to providing an agency which would act as a mouthpiece of the urban local bodies in their dealings with the state government. But, as a subsequent study points out: "Unfortunately, in most cases this has not happened. On the contrary, almost exactly the opposite is beginning to appear. In fact, the Directorates have begun to function as superior authorities at the bureaucratic levels."²

The States have a tendency to reduce the administrative and financial capability of the municipalities and this is not matched by an increase in responsibility on the part of the States to take up urban development as their legitimate function.

Thus, the cause of urban development suffers because it falls between two stools. Neither the Central Government nor the State Governments have a firm commitment to urban development. The Finance Commission, which is appointed every five years under the Constitution of India, is not required to look into the problem of local finance. The Planning Commission encourages the preparation of master plans for cities without taking any responsibility for urban development at the city level.

On the other hand, the States do not generally consider urban problems as of any particular consequence and usually the Ministry of Local Self-Government is one of the unimportant Ministries. The corporations and municipalities are, by and large, centres of inefficiency, corruption and political nepotism. Most of them are bankrupt and cannot in any way tackle the big problems of housing, transport, environmental pollution, etc. They have neither the financial

² Mohit Bhattacharya, *State Directorates of Municipal Administration*, (Preface by G. Mukharji), New Delhi, 1969.

viability nor the legal backing to confront urban problems except in the limited sphere of *zoning, land use planning, etc*

Urban problems cannot be effectively tackled unless the prevailing constitutional legal administrative apparatus is drastically modified to meet the demands of urbanization. This apparatus is a legacy of the early 19th century British laws and political philosophy which has limited relevance today. This obsolescence has put a brake on urban development. The five year plans have helplessly admitted the severe limitations of municipal administration while doing very little about changing the situation.

The Government at present does not have adequate expertise to deal effectively with problems of urban development. Some amount of expertise has no doubt been generated at the Town and Country Planning Organisation, the National Buildings Organisation, the Urban and Regional Planning Division of the Planning Commission, and the Centres for Municipal Administration. But, by and large, these institutions suffer from several limitations and they have yet to play an effective role in tackling urban problems in a big way. Recently, the Department of Science and Technology has set up an NCST Group on Urbanization and Housing. This is a welcome development inasmuch as a dose of science and technology is bound to improve our perception of urban development. The urban scene has too long been dominated by PWD architects and town planners. But we should not be carried away by our new found zeal for science and technology. Urban development calls for a large dose of social sciences, urban values and urban philosophy. Issues like urban poverty, the growing inequality between the rich and the poor in urban areas, social tensions and a whole range of allied problems cannot be tackled by science and technology alone.

Lack of Expertise on Urbanization

The lack of expertise on urbanization is a big obstacle to urban development. There is hardly any university in India which gives a course in Urban Economics. There are hardly any studies on the economics of urban housing, rent control and land speculation. The related subjects of urban water supply, electricity, transport, etc. have yet to appeal to the imagination of our economists.

There is great need, therefore, for a high-powered, independent national institute of urban affairs charged with the task of analyzing urban problems from the view point of various disciplines and recommending to the government concrete steps to tackle urban problems on the basis of technical solutions and not political or common sense or PWD solutions. This institute should be autonomous and outside the government and not be like several so-called autonomous institutions which are really part of Government Departments. There can be no research in a bureaucratic set up. Urban development calls for tremendous innovation. Common sense cannot carry us far. On the other hand, collection of all manner of data will not necessarily lead to better solutions in the absence of new ideas. Research must be relevant, innovative and policy-oriented.

Pitfalls in our Urban Housing Policy

Urban housing policy should be a national housing policy; it should be a part of a national policy for urban development. And yet we tend to isolate housing from urban development. Some will immediately point out that housing does not mean only urban housing and that rural housing is even more important. We have already referred to this argument. In our view, urban housing must be discussed separately from rural housing, just as we discuss the problems of industrial development and agricultural development separately, even though both agriculture and industry are closely related.

There cannot be any solution of the problem of urban housing unless we simultaneously consider the problem of transport. We must abandon the present approach of considering rural and urban housing together and instead consider urban housing and transport together.

Our present housing policies are by and large based on common sense, expediency and an awesome respect for P.W.D. standards laid down by the British. Let us give a few examples.

(1) The Ministers continue to live in spacious bungalows built by the British. This amounts to patronizing the colonial style of housing. No new ideas on housing can be generated when the ruling elite is completely insulated from the masses. And by allowing free houses to the Ministers we have created a vested interest which perpetuates colonial-style living.

(2) We are so much obsessed with land values that the poor people rarely get a chance to live in areas close to their place of work and they are invariably provided with land away from the city. This has a high social cost. The P.W.D. mentality does not permit us to give a low priority to land values which we should do, if we introduce the transport variable and have a sense of social justice.

(3) We think that the only way to solve the squatter problem is to demolish unauthorized structures and settle the people on the periphery of the city, a process which never works.

(4) We continue to think that by condemning land speculation as an anti-social activity we can curb speculation. We have only to remind ourselves about the recent history of prohibition in India.

(5) We continue to think that the Rent Control Act is saving the tenants from exploitation, while in reality it helps neither the tenant nor the landlord, but is responsible for poor maintenance of old buildings and depletion of our scarce stock of housing.

(6) We are under an illusion that ceiling on urban property will at once bring down land values and construction costs. But the number of houses above the proposed ceiling, according to municipal valuation, may be so small that the total impact of ceiling on urban property or the housing stock as a whole is likely to be marginal. Thus, this revolutionary measure is far from revolutionary.

(7) Finally, we think that the housing situation can be eased without building houses. How else can one explain the great desire to develop and sell land through public bodies at reasonable rates without showing the same concern for

selling bricks, cement, steel, wood and glass at reasonable rates? The government has not shown any serious interest in developing housing as an industry. Our only ideas are in the field of prefabricated houses in spite of the well known fact that such houses are not cheaper.

These examples can be multiplied but they should suffice to demonstrate the fallacies inherent in our present housing policies.

We can, however, draw some solace from the fact that the housing situation is not satisfactory anywhere in the world. As Charles Abrams, one of the leading authorities in the U.S.A. on housing, observed: 'So far as housing is concerned, the whole world has remained underdeveloped.' He, however, points out that "The housing situation is not hopeless."³ There are three reasons why it is bad, namely, it has been ignored, the nations affected do not know how to deal with it, and aid giving countries and international aid agencies which could help do not consider it one of their more vital concerns.

In India all these three factors operate. The five year plans have more or less ignored housing, we have very little expertise on the subject, and foreign aid has not helped housing programmes.

Bureaucratic Hurdles

Let us now discuss some specific issues. It is an encouraging development that the Life Insurance Corporation grants loans for housing to policy holders. But it is common knowledge that procedural difficulties are far too many. By way of example, we shall cite an actual case. The Librarian of a well known institution applied for an LIC loan. After eight months of the submission of his application complete in all respects (including the employer's certificate, etc.), he was asked by LIC to submit an audited statement and balance sheet for five years of the institution concerned. If a person mortgages his land and his insurance policy, why should such questions be asked? In any case, the LIC can depute inspectors to make an on the spot enquiry and settle the matter. This "abundant caution" on the part of LIC is based on a deep distrust of the people. In fact, the high government officials have greatly benefited from the LIC loan schemes and the average policy holder is discouraged even for applying for loans. The LIC should provide for the risk of non payment of loans in their calculations and evolve a dynamic policy of granting loans.

Now that all our big banks are nationalized, the government should ask these banks to take the responsibility of financing housing schemes of their deposit holders. All over the world banks play a leading role in financing housing and there is no reason why our banks should be so old fashioned. The banks no doubt are giving loans for housing to their own employees but this is not enough. This facility should be extended as much as possible. It is a paradox that in the world's richest country one can buy a house without having any money but in our poor country, a person has to invest his life time's saving at the fag-end of his life to build a house and part with almost all his money. In

³ Charles Abrams *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World* Massachusetts 1964

India, a young man purchasing or building a house as soon as he has a job is a rare phenomenon. It is the old people who build houses. This process should be reversed and housing finance should be so arranged that what is paid as a monthly rent should become a monthly instalment for paying the price of the house. Some of the schemes of Delhi Development Authority have introduced this system in Delhi but in terms of the housing units, the supply cannot cope up with the demand. The banks should, therefore, have a special role.

In India, one builds a house for his grandson. In other words, the concept is that a house should last for at least 90 years or so. This mentality should change. At least for the middle-class and low-income group housing, the concept should be of one generation. It should be all right if a house lasts 30 years or so. This will cut down the cost. With occupational mobility and rising incomes, the hope should always be there that things will improve with each generation. The concept of inherited or paternal property being handed down to generations should be abandoned. Each generation should fend for itself. In any case, the land will be there but new houses must come up every 30 years.

If, however, some people have the money to build traditional type houses, they should be encouraged and even compelled to build four-storey houses. It is a shame that in the face of an acute and growing housing shortage, our municipal bye-laws often prohibit the construction of four-storey houses. In new colonies of Delhi, people desirous of building four-storey houses were permitted to build only two-storey houses with a *barsati* room (terrace room) with three walls. This is, to say the least, scandalous. Of course, one may argue that the water pipes, drains, etc. must all be geared to the requirements of four-storey houses and the existing standards of infra-structure will be totally inadequate for this type of housing. This point will be conceded, but is it not possible to provide infra-structure suited to four-storey houses at least in the new colonies? A realistic housing policy must take note of the additional demands on infra-structure like water pipes, sewerage, drainage, refuse disposal, roads, play-grounds, schools, hospitals, etc.

It is, however, not always necessary to build multi-storey buildings. The same density can be attained even with two-storey buildings if there is a better design based on the most efficient use of space. This is not a question of low-cost housing but of more competent architecture and town planning.

It is noteworthy that for over twenty years we have been constantly talking of low-cost housing and yet so little has been done in this field. But regardless of our success, the solution of the housing problem merely or even primarily in terms of low-cost housing shows our lack of understanding of the housing problem. What about low-cost infra-structure? No housing policy will succeed unless our efforts at low-cost housing are matched by low-cost infra-structure.

Linking Housing with Transport

If one comes to the conclusion that in the foreseeable future it is not possible to make a breakthrough with low-cost housing or low-cost infra-structure, the solution we would offer is low-cost urbanization through low-cost transport and

increased commutation. In other words, the solution of the urban housing problem lies to a great extent in cheap transport and not cheap housing in the crowded cities. People should be encouraged to stay in the rural areas and commute to the cities. This calls for investment on roads and railways and a rapid mass transportation system based on buses and ring railways. The cost of transportation should be so worked out that residing in the central city should be a disincentive. After all, we have been subsidising housing for the low income group. Instead, why not subsidise transport for the low income group? This calls for a series of technical exercises, but it is not difficult for economists to work out solutions once the social objectives are clearly defined. At present there is no social objective as far as housing is concerned except politically inspired policies like subsidising housing for Harijans and other weaker sections of the community regardless of their income level. The squatters, slum dwellers and poor people are sought to be 'settled' on the outskirts of the cities on the ground that land values are cheap there and extremely high in the central city. But social justice demands that people who have cars should *not* live within walking distance of their offices and people who are not rich enough even to afford cycles should *not* be put 20 miles away from the city. Poor people must live near their place of work, regardless of land values.

It is unfortunate that our housing and urban development plans have benefited the rich more than the poor.

Housing Finance

The Central Housing and Urban Development Corporation and the Housing Boards in different States have been financing several housing schemes. But the shortage of finance is the greatest limiting factor. Is it possible to increase the finances of these bodies? We recommend the following measures: (1) Income tax-free bonds be issued by HUDCO and the Housing Boards, (2) A system could be devised to collect from those who have received compensation under Land Acquisition Act, a major portion of their compensation money in the form of housing bonds. Many such persons are illiterate farmers who just do not know how to invest their money, (3) In order to encourage the investment of black money in housing, the upper limit on the exemption of income-tax in the case of Housing Boards should be raised. Further, the Government must give a solemn undertaking that no enquiries by the Income Tax department will be made about persons buying housing bonds. This will not only unearth a lot of black money but also give the Government a chance to freeze such money, if it chooses to, in order to fight inflation. But such a need will arise only if a very large amount is invested in housing bonds.

Our housing policy ignores the obvious fact that the housing problem cannot be solved unless the supply of housing units increases. Demolishing X number of unauthorized houses and again building exactly X number of authorized houses may improve the quality of housing but not the stock of housing. More houses must be built. But the private sector is not interested in moral issues but

in economic returns. Houses will not be built by private parties if the investment on housing is not rewarding. This leaves out poor and lower-middle class housing from the scope of private investment. But public housing is totally inadequate to meet the demand. One cannot always blame the growth of population alone for the growing housing shortage. Part of the malady lies in our housing policies. All famines are not due to the vagaries of nature. There are man-made famines also. Today we are confronted with a man-made housing famine.

Ceiling on urban property is not the answer to our housing problem, whatever be its other merits. It might lower land values to some extent but not to such an extent that the poor will afford to buy land. A new set of rich people will replace another. One can understand rationing of urban land which might involve nationalization of all urban land and a strict control over the land-use pattern. But even this extreme measure will only succeed in reducing the cost of land but not of house construction.

Will the Government then nationalize a whole lot of industries like bricks, cement, wood, glass, etc.? Very unlikely. It does appear to us, therefore, that if the government mean business they should encourage the housing industry in a big way, both in the public sector and the private sector.

Any policy of developing and allotting land at a cheap rate without any consideration for reducing the construction cost is like buying cloth for, say, Rs 15 a yard and paying Rs. 150 for tailoring! Such a policy will be self-defeating. The ultimate goal is not a plot of land but a house. And for the poor people, it is not even a house but some shelter.

A State cannot call itself a welfare state if it cannot provide even shelter to its masses. Socialism should start with housing the poor.

Policy Implications

We have discussed a number of inhibiting factors in urban development and housing and also made specific suggestions for the consideration of the Government. We shall conclude with the following observations:

Our housing and urban development plans and policies have to operate under several constraints and, unless these constraints are removed, it is pointless to list the inhibiting factors and make policy recommendations. The basic constraints are three: political, economic and administrative. The calibre of political leadership at the municipal level is such that the challenge of urbanization cannot be taken up. The same is true of the system of municipal finance. The Finance Commission and the Planning Commission are not fully geared to consider the problems of urban development or of housing. Under the circumstances, the preparation of master plans for cities can only generate frustration. Finally, the system of urban administration, namely, municipal administration, is totally inadequate to cope with the problems of housing and urban development. The system of local self-government introduced by Lord Mayo in 1870 has very little relevance in 1972.

Because of these basic constraints, there is very little that the Ministry of

Works and Housing at the Centre or in the States can do. No wonder they take recourse to the appointment of Commissions, Committees and Study Groups periodically and hold annual conferences and occasional seminars. This is a reflection of their helplessness.

The situation can be remedied if a long term strategy for housing and urban development is adopted and a series of measures taken. In particular we submit the following proposals:

(1) There should be a strong (i.e. with adequate political backing) Ministry at the Centre and in each State called the Ministry of Housing, Environment and Urban Development.

(2) There should be a standing committee on urban affairs both in the Parliament and in each State legislature, comprising all members elected from predominantly urban constituencies. Efforts should be made to depoliticize issues like slum clearance and the squatter problem.

(3) There should be a national institute of urban affairs outside the Government, to develop expertise in the field of housing, environment, urban development and related subjects, based on a continuous study of these problems from the point of view of different disciplines.

(4) The Constitution should be amended and local finance should be brought under the purview of the Finance Commission.

(5) The Planning Commission should be required to take detailed note of the problems of each individual city with, say, a population of over 100,000 and also a number of other strategic cities regardless of population size, and evolve a national system of cities which will form an integral part of the five year plans.

(6) Housing should be developed in a big way as an industry, both in the public sector and the private sector. We have talked for over twenty years about low-cost housing but fancy notions cannot cut down the cost. We must understand the economics of housing.

(7) There should not be two policies: one for developing residential land and the other for building houses. Our objective is housing and not land. This calls for a departure from the present policy of selling land at reasonable rates to low income and middle-income group people without bothering about the cost of construction. Low-cost land and high-cost construction render the present policy ineffective.

(8) Urban housing should be linked up with the development of a rapid mass transportation system. Instead of subsidising housing for the poor, experiments should be conducted in subsidising transport and encouraging people to stay in the villages and commute to the cities.

(9) Houses should be built by young men for their generation and not by old men for future generations. This is possible if what is normally paid as rent is converted into part payment for the house on the basis of a long term instalment plan. The nationalized banks must give long term loans for housing.

(10) The present restrictive and unnecessarily cautious and cumbersome approach adopted by the LIC for giving loans for housing should be abandoned in favour of a more liberal and forward looking policy.

(11) The Housing Boards should float income-tax-free loans for housing bonds and the upper limit on the exemption of interest for tax purposes should be raised. This policy might attract some black money. Incentives should be given to invest black money in housing bonds by assuring the prospective investor that the Income-Tax Department will not be permitted to raise any questions regarding such investments.

(12) The Rent Control Act should be scrapped and more realistic measures adopted. Needless litigation should be avoided. Landlords should be assured by the Government that rent will be paid every month and all tenants should be assured that they will not be exploited by the landlords. This can be done if there is a controller of private housing who has powers of summary trial. If landlords are assured that they will get rent every month, there will be an incentive to build more houses and invest money on housing. Every investor is not interested in high returns; some want steady returns.

(13) The age-old P.W.D. mentality must be given up in favour of a modern outlook on problems of housing and urban development. This calls for a detailed examination of the Land Acquisition Act, the Societies Registration Act, the Town and Country Planning Acts, the Municipal Laws and Bye-laws and also a fresh look at the P.W.D. standards, norms and specifications.

(14) Finally, the perception of the problems of housing and urban development will vastly improve if the ruling elite comprising the ministers and high officials abandons colonial-style living and accepts more realistic housing standards befitting a socialist state.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

THE SUDDEN upsurge of socialism in India has not yet percolated down to the municipal level. It is rather unfortunate that maharajas and not municipalities got all the prominence in the first round of battle. In fact, the possibility of municipalities getting any attention from the champions of socialism who are concerned all the time with national issues is indeed remote. The cities continue to be neglected by the State Governments as well as the Central Government though there is a belated realization that the neglect of Calcutta has been suicidal from any point of view, political, economic or social.

The Fourth Five Year Plan does admit that "the situation in regard to growth of population in metropolitan centres, particularly of Calcutta and Bombay, is already so difficult as to make it almost a law and order problem".¹ But the implicit assumption here is that the growth of population is creating all the problems. It is our contention that it is not only the growth of population which is creating severe urban problems but also the lack of a social philosophy for urban development, a callous disregard for the problems of the poor and the craze to construct impressive buildings and showpieces to generate civic pride.

Many of our national leaders were associated with municipal work during the period of British rule in India. Notable among them were Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee, Lajpat Rai, G. K. Gokhale, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Their speeches, writings and actual work reflect their great desire for urban development with political freedom and social justice, a concern for the poor and a spirit of dedication to municipal work.

Unfortunately, however, the advent of freedom, far from improving municipal administration, witnessed a remarkable deterioration. Some of the factors which contributed to this are (1) the drafting of top rational leaders to Parliament and the Central Government and to some extent to the State legislatures and State Governments, leading to the utter neglect of municipal work which tends to be dominated by not always scrupulous politicians. This has resulted in increasing municipal nepotism and corruption. (2) With the increasing pace of urbanization, the demands made on municipalities have vastly increased. The taxes and grants in aid have also increased and the amount available to municipalities, though out of proportion to the needs of urban development, has

¹ India, Planning Commission: *Fourth Five Year Plan*, p. 398

increased very substantially. New functions like housing have been added to municipal work and growing industrialization has brought more power to municipalities in the form of granting licences, etc. Thus, both in terms of money and authority to control money through transactions in land and housing, the importance of municipalities has vastly increased while, at the same time, the calibre and integrity of persons concerned with municipal work has declined. Corruption is inherent in such a situation. (3) Very few attempts have been made to discard the early 19th century framework of municipal administration, laws and bye-laws, rules and regulations, procedures and practices. This obsolescence has put a brake on urban development. Cities today have to plan 30 years ahead—that is for the 21st century—while the institutions which are supposed to implement these plans are a hangover of the 19th century. The five year plans have helplessly admitted the severe limitations of municipal administration while doing very little about introducing radical changes in such administration.

It would be worthwhile if our leaders today go through the record of the municipal work of the earlier generation of leaders during British rule. It must be pointed out that these leaders were greatly handicapped in their efforts at urban development by the very limited powers they enjoyed. In fact the prime objective behind Lord Mayo's resolution of 1870 establishing local self-government in India (and this is true of subsequent Resolutions during the British rule in India) was containment of the national upsurge by giving limited administrative responsibilities to Indian leaders without adequate financial power. The emphasis was on maintenance of essential services like sanitation and water supply and not on urban development as such.

Pheroza Shah Mehta (1845-1915) was associated with the Bombay Corporation for over 38 years from 1872 onwards. He served as Chairman of the Corporation for three terms. It was he who was mainly instrumental in gaining for Bombay the pride of place among the municipalities and corporations of India. His biographer writes: "He had kept himself untrammelled by the restraints of office, and had ruled the Corporation with a firmness, wisdom and moderation, which had earned for that body a high reputation among the self-governing institutions in the country."²

Lala Lajpat Rai was associated with a much smaller municipality, namely, Hissar in Punjab. He joined the Hissar Municipal Committee in 1889 as an Honorary Secretary. Interestingly enough, he represented a ward which was inhabited primarily by Muslims. Lala Lajpat Rai writes in his autobiography:

A European officer of the Military Commissariat was President of the Committee. He was an extremely mischievous and tyrannical man. The citizens were sick of him and as I advocated the popular side and safeguarded the rights of the people both the Municipal President and the Deputy Commissioner kept an eye on my movements. There were twelve Indians and three Europeans in the Committee. Situations arose several times in which the twelve were arrayed on one side and the three on the other—the cleavage

² Homi Mody: *Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta—A Political Biography*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 276.

being racial. In my efforts to promote the cause of education and of health I achieved a fair measure of success during my three years of municipal work at Hissar.³

Hissar at that time had a population of less than 15,000. Lajpat Rai succeeded in activating the municipality but the Deputy Commissioner viewed his political activities with extreme disfavour. The district officials were also annoyed with him but Lajpat Rai writes "In municipal affairs generally (with the exception of certain things done in spite of official opposition) they liked my attitude, and appreciated the toning up of municipal administration by honesty, intelligence and public spirit."⁴

Surendranath Banerjea became Minister for Local Self Government in Bengal in 1921. In his autobiography he writes about his work as a minister and refers in particular to his contribution to the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923 which was "the realisation of one of the dreams of my life. Introducing the Act in 1921 he said

To me, Sir, the Bill affords a matter for personal solace and gratification. To me, it means the fulfilment of one of the dreams of my life. Ever since 1899 I have lived in the hope of witnessing the re-birth of my native city, robed in the mantle of freedom. I thank God that it has been vouchsafed to me to have had some share in achieving this consummation. I have endeavoured to embody in this Bill the principles which I preached and for which I lived and worked.⁵

Banerjea refers to one of the Despatches of Lord Morley in which he complains that 'one of the reasons for want of success of our local bodies was that they had little power and less responsibility'. He asserts that 'I myself had urged this view in the press and from the platform and now that I was in power I sought to remedy a state of things which I had condemned. One of the first things that I did was to de-officialize the Local Boards and to order that their Chairmen should be non-officials to be elected by the Boards'.⁶

Gopal Krishna Gokhale who was the President of Poona Municipality gave considerable thought to the improvement of local self government. In 1909 he submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for India on constitutional reforms⁷ which included reforms in local self government.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was elected Councillor of Ahmedabad Municipality in 1917 and continued his association with municipal work for the next 12 years, a number of them as the President of Ahmedabad Municipality. In reply to an address presented by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay in 1948, Sardar Patel referred to his work in the Ahmedabad Municipality as follows

³ V. C. Joshi (ed.) *Lajpat Rai—Autobiographical Holdings* Delhi, University Publishers 1965, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ Sir Surendranath Banerjea *A Nation in Making* Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1963 pp. 334-45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁷ O. P. Goyal *Political Thought of Gokhale* Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1965 p. 115.

In the course of your address you have mentioned some things which I :
 achieved and others which I have not; but there is one which I accept with
 reservation, namely, that I served Ahmedabad Municipality to the best of
 capacity. I had unalloyed happiness in the tasks which I performed there.
 After all, to all of us, to serve our own city must give unmitigated pleasure :
 mental satisfaction which I cannot get in any other sphere. Further, to clear
 the dirt of the city is quite different from cleansing the dirt of politics. For
 the former you get a good night's rest while the latter keeps you worried and
 disturbed even at night.⁸

K. L. Panjabi in his biography of Sardar Patel writes:

He [Sardar Patel, when he joined the Ahmedabad Municipality] surveyed
 the situation very carefully and was amazed to discover that the municipality
 a people's organisation, was more or less acting under the orders of the
 Collector and the Commissioner. The Municipal Commissioner had become
 so bold as to disregard the interests and even the explicit orders of the munici-
 pality. He had handed over valuable municipal land for a song to a person
 who had won his favour by liberal contribution to the Government War
 Loan. This he had done in defiance of clear orders of the municipality. He
 had even amended the draft of an important letter to the Government after
 it had been approved by the municipality. Mr. Shillidy's high-handed conduct
 gave an opening to Vallabhbhai which he used with consummate skill. He
 persuaded the municipality to demand his removal from office on the ground
 of insubordination. This was a bold move on his part, and he argued so well
 that even the timid members had a surge of courage and voted with him.
 The government could not defend Mr. Shillidy's conduct and removed him.
 The next nominee to this post had to accept the authority and control of
 the municipality.⁹

Another interesting aspect of Sardar Patel's work is revealed by the following
 account:

Vallabhbhai now turned his attention to the internal administration of the
 municipality. He found that the taxes were not being collected from govern-
 ment officers and influential persons and institutions. The arrears were
 mounting up and Vallabhbhai took the drastic step of publicising the names
 of influential persons who had been evading payment of taxes to the munici-
 pality. He heaped ridicule on them and the arrears were paid up.¹⁰

A recent biography of Sardar Patel by D. V. Tahmankar devotes a full
 chapter to "Patel's municipal career—clashes and constructive work."
 Tahmankar observes,

These struggles with British bureaucracy in India not only brought out the

⁸ K. L. Panjabi: *The Indomitable Sardar*. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962, pp. 29-30.

⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

fighter in Vallabhbhai but led him to study the conditions of the people, especially the working people of cities like Ahmedabad. The squalor and dirt in the streets, lack of sanitation, inadequate water supply, and housing conditions of the labouring population were some of the problems with which Vallabhbhai came face to face as he became more and more involved in municipal affairs. The experience he gained in administering the municipality became the firm basis of his political work in the wider national field. Indeed Ahmedabad furnished him with the necessary material for the study of human affairs in the raw and also proved a testing ground for his future leadership. In the handling of his manifold municipal duties and responsibilities we see Vallabhbhai shaping his political career as a disciplined soldier and a great general of the future.¹¹

Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of Allahabad Municipality for two years (1921-23). In his *Autobiography* he devotes a whole chapter to municipal work. His experience gives a valuable insight into the working of municipal bodies during British Rule in India. To quote him at length

Most Indian cities can be divided into two parts: the densely crowded city proper, and the widespread area with bungalows and cottages, each with a fairly extensive compound or garden, usually referred to by the English as the 'Civil Lines'. It is in these Civil Lines that the English officials and businessmen, as well as many upper middle-class Indians, professional men, officials, etc., live. The income of the municipality from the city proper is greater than that from the Civil Lines, but the expenditure on the latter far exceeds the city expenditure. For the far wider area covered by the Civil Lines requires more roads, and they have to be repaired, cleaned up, watered, and lighted, and the drainage, the water supply, and the sanitation system have to be more widespread. The city part is always grossly neglected, and, of course, the poorer parts of the city are almost ignored, it has few good roads, and most of the narrow lanes are ill lit and have no proper drainage or sanitation system. It puts up with all these disabilities patiently and seldom complains, and when it does complain, nothing much happens. Nearly all the Big Noises and Little Noises live in the Civil Lines.

To equalise the burden a little and to encourage improvements, I wanted to introduce a tax on land values. But hardly had I made the suggestion when a protest came from a government official. I think it was the District Magistrate, who pointed out that this would be in contravention of various enactments or conditions of land tenure. Such a tax would obviously have fallen more heavily on the owners of the bungalows in the Civil Lines. But Government approves thoroughly of an indirect tax like the octroi which crushes trade, raises prices of all goods, including foodstuffs, and falls most heavily on the poor. And this most unsocial and harmful levy has been the mainstay of most Indian municipalities, though, I believe, it is very slowly disappearing in the larger cities.¹²

¹¹ D. V. Tahmankar *Sardar Patel* London, Allen & Unwin, 1970, pp. 63-64.
¹² Jawaharlal Nehru *An Autobiography* New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1962, pp. 143-44.

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was the first Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation (1924). His biographer writes:

The inaugural speech of Deshbandhu Das as Mayor expressed in vivid terms his conception of civic administration. It was clear that his approach to civic life was different from his approach to Council entry. Here he was out to build and not to destroy. He laid down the following programme of work for the Corporation; free primary education, free medical relief to the poor, purer and cheaper food and milk supply, better supply of filtered water and unfiltered water, better sanitation in business and congested areas, housing for the poor, development of suburban areas, improved transport facilities and greater efficiency in administration at a cheaper cost.¹³

In the context of new slogans for a socialist society which are so often repeated today, it is pertinent to keep in mind what C. R. Das said in his inaugural speech:

It is the great ideal of the Indian people that they regard the poor as *Daridra Narayan*. To them God comes in the shape of the poor. The service of the poor is the service of God to the Indian mind. I shall, therefore, try to direct your activities to the service of the poor. You will have seen that in the programme which I have drawn up, most of the items deal with the poor. If the Corporation succeeds even to a very limited extent in this work it will have justified itself.¹⁴

C. R. Das chose Subhas Chandra Bose as his chief executive officer. Bose later became the Mayor of Calcutta (1938). One of his speeches delivered during that time refers to municipal socialism. To quote him: -

While in Europe, I had the opportunity to study the socialist municipality of Vienna. Anyone who has been to that city cannot return without being convinced of the importance and significance of the working of that municipality to all those interested in civic affairs. During the last twelve years the Vienna Municipality has provided good housing to 200,000 persons, without raising loans. The entire cost has been charged to the revenue and realized through taxing entertainments. The Municipality has effectively solved the problem of water supply, roads, education for children, health, infant mortality and hundreds of other problems. If so much can be done in one city, naturally it has its importance for other parts of the world.¹⁵

Bose reiterated what C. R. Das stated, namely, "Every civic body should be made into a real poor men's corporation." He also asserted that "in the world today, civic affairs are consciously or unconsciously moving towards municipal

¹³ Hemendranath Das Gupta: *Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das*, Delhi, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1966, p. 97.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 98.

¹⁵ *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*. New Delhi, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1962, p. 70.

socialism. One ought to understand what this term implies, there is no need to fight shy of it."¹⁶

This was said more than three decades back. Have we progressed since then in introducing municipal socialism?

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

TOWARDS A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF CITIES

THE first attempt to introduce municipal administration in India goes as far back as 1687 when the Madras Corporation was constituted on the lines of the Borough of Portsmouth in England. The Mayor of Portsmouth was a Governor of the English East India Company. The Madras Corporation was entrusted with the running of a number of public services including upkeep of a town hall and a school. The Corporation was also a judicial body constituting a court of record in civil and criminal cases. The Corporation was actually established in 1688 but it did not prove to be a success as the residents objected to the imposition of new taxes. In 1726 a second Municipal Charter was issued under which the Madras Municipality was reconstituted and Calcutta and Bombay Municipalities were established. This charter was renewed in 1793.

In 1863 the report of the Royal Army Sanitation Commission was published which emphasized the need to take steps to supply services like sanitation and public health. During the next hundred years, various committees and commissions were appointed from time to time. A number of resolutions and Acts were also passed. In particular, we may refer to Lord Mayo's Resolution on Provincial Finance (1870), Lord Ripon's Resolution on Local Self-Government (1882), the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1909), the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Local Self-Government (1918), the Government of India Resolution (1918), the Taxation Enquiry Commission Report on Local Taxation and Local Government (1925), and the Indian Statutory Commission on Local Self-Government (1928).

In the post-independence period, the important committees have been: the Local Finance Enquiry Committee (1950), the Taxation Enquiry Committee (1953), the Committee on Augmentation of Financial Resources of Urban Local Bodies (1963), the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee (1963), and the Administrative Reorganisation Committee (1966-70). Apart from these, there were several committees which dealt with the problems of local bodies at the state level or individual city or town level.

In the post-independence period, the most important report relevant to our subject is the three-volume report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee.¹ The main report (1966) of this Committee discusses at length urban

¹ Government of India, Ministry of Health and Family Planning: *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee*. New Delhi, 1966 (3 volumes).

development and planning machinery, the structure of urban local bodies, municipal personnel, finances of urban local bodies, public participation in urban community development, and relations between the state government and local administration. The second volume (1968) contains a number of notes on urban local government practices in various States in India and also gives a list of municipal acts and State-wise lists of different types of urban local bodies. It also gives some details about local governments in different countries of the world. Volume III of the Report (1966) is concerned with the analysis of replies given to the questionnaires issued by the Committee and also contains the evidence given before the Committee by various persons and organizations throughout the country. These three volumes constitute an important source material for the study of the administration of urban areas in India.

The Administrative Reforms Commission appointed a number of study teams. In the *Report of the Study Team on District Administration* (1967), a chapter is devoted to urban local bodies. The Study Team observes that the terms of reference of the Rural Urban Relationship Committee were comprehensive and covered "all important aspects of urban local government", and comments that

There does not appear to be much point in our covering the same ground as this (Rural-Urban Relationship) Committee has. Consequently, we have confined ourselves to one important aspect only, namely, the relationship of urban local bodies and Panchayati Raj in the context of the development needs of the district. Regarding other aspects of urban local government, we see no reason to differ from the recommendations of the Rural Urban Relationship Committee except for one or two minor points. *

In the post-independence period, one of the pressing problems in the field of administration of urban areas related to the construction and development of new townships for millions of refugees from Pakistan. Two of these townships, namely, Faridabad and Nilokheri, were developed under the inspiration and guidance of Sudhir Ghosh and S. K. Dey respectively. Jawaharlal Nehru himself took keen interest in the development of both these townships. In a recent autobiographical book called *Gandhi's Emassary*, Sudhir Ghosh devotes a whole chapter, "A Revolution That Did Not Come Off", to the development of Faridabad Township. His experience gives an insight into administrative problems in an emergency. Ghosh was extremely frustrated in his efforts to develop Faridabad. He observes

In the British days there was a basic presumption in the rules and regulations for the drawing and disbursing of public funds, that every man was a thief and rules had to be thief proof. This was all right when functions of Government were restricted to collection of land revenue and maintenance of what was called law and order and bits of public works. The expenditure involved was tiny compared to the magnitude of Government expenditure in a supposedly Welfare State struggling to build up a new life for its people. The

* Administrative Reforms Commission Report *District Administration*. New Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1967, p. 73

purpose of Government has undergone revolutionary changes in India and yet the nature of the Government's machine and the rules according to which it functions are exactly as they were in the nineteenth century. One way of solving this problem is to create autonomous authorities, to do those jobs which are different in nature from the normal jobs of Government. But all attempts to make autonomous authorities honestly autonomous have so far failed in India without one exception. In this instance I succeeded for nearly three years as I interposed myself between those in the Government machine who seek power minus the responsibility of proving a case and those who were working at Faridabad and for whom I created a state of affairs in which they could function with enthusiasm. But the collective inertia of the bureaucratic machine of Government is so powerful that anybody who seriously makes such an attempt comes to grief sooner or later. So did I. The weakness of the situation was that I could survive only so long as Mr. Nehru threw his mantle over me. But as soon as it was withdrawn I could not struggle any further.³

S. K. Dey who was responsible for the creation of Nilokheri also records his frustrating experience in dealing with the Government under the stress of emergency. He refers to "a significant innovation tried out in the Ministry of Rehabilitation which faded away almost as fast as it came into existence". This innovation was the creation of a Development Board to look after urgent problems of rehabilitation including the problems of the new township of Faridabad. Dey complains that:

Problems of refugees meantime were mounting by leaps and bounds. The newly created Board, as it seems in retrospect now, did not realise that it was just playing into the hands of schemers in the Ministry by concentrating on discussions *ad nauseam* round the table as against work which was the call of the hour. Because the Board was pitted against the Ministry which vied for the former's quick liquidation, the Board grew unduly sensitive to, and jealous of, its jurisdiction. It fell into the trap of asking for control of things more than it was equipped to handle. The officers in the Ministry had been past-masters in the game. Every time the Board questioned the propriety of the Ministry in handling any particular issue, the Ministry condescended by sending in a few hundred files in one instalment. Before the Board could begin any action, they were submerged so in files that the members felt already lost.⁴

A review of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Five Year Plans of India will indicate the helplessness of the Planning Commission which recognized the ineffective role of municipalities in urban development and the utter lack of any innovation in this regard. We shall quote from these plans to illustrate our point.

The First Five Year Plan makes a frank criticism of State Governments and local authorities:

³ Sudhar Ghosh: *Gandhi's Emissary*. Calcutta, Rupa & Co., 1967, pp. 253-54.

⁴ S. K. Dey: *Nilokheri*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 25-26.

We have already seen how haphazard growth and ribbon development have been caused by inadequate legal powers to control use of land and construction of buildings, though it must be admitted that neither the State Governments nor local authorities have shown a full appreciation of the situation or utilised such powers as they already have to arrest the unhealthy growth ⁵

The Second Five Year Plan also admits the failure of the present system of municipal administration to cope with the problems of urban planning. It observes

It is sufficient to remark here that for urban development to proceed on desirable lines, competent municipal administration with adequate powers, resources and administrative and technical staffs are essential. Urban development and redevelopment throws increasing responsibility on municipal administration which few of them are at present able to discharge ⁶

The Third Five Year Plan reiterates the weakness of the present municipal system. It says

At the local level, municipal administration alone can undertake satisfactorily the task of providing the services needed for development in urban areas, expansion of housing and improvement of living conditions. Most municipal administrations are not strong enough to carry out these functions ⁷

The Fourth Five Year Plan refers to the recommendations of the Rural Urban Relationship Committee and two other committees appointed by the Local Self Government Ministers' Council on augmentation of financial resources of urban local bodies and urban land policy and makes this philosophical observation

The implementation of schemes for the benefit of these cities (metropolitan cities and other large centres) carries with it a corresponding obligation on the part of the beneficiaries to share the burden. It is hoped that State Governments will take all the measures necessary to augment resources at the local level ⁸

There are at least six factors in the existing situation which ensure failure of our urban development plans

(1) The Finance Commission which is appointed every five years under the Constitution of India is *not* required to look into the problem of local finance

(2) The Planning Commission *does not* take note of individual cities in their planning process in spite of the clichés on regional planning which occur in all the Five Year Plans

(3) The Department of Urban Development in the Central Ministry does

⁵ *The First Five Year Plan 1951-56*, p. 603

⁶ *The Second Five Year Plan 1956-61*, p. 569

⁷ *The Third Five Year Plan, 1961-66*, p. 693

⁸ *The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74)*, p. 401

some co-ordination work and the Town and Country Planning Organisation reviews master plans. Periodical conferences of State Ministers of Local Self-Government and mayors from different parts of India are called and presided over by the Central Minister but the Government of India *does not* have any machinery to tackle urban problems on a national plane. This is the outcome of regarding local self-government as a State subject.

(4) The States, however, *do not* generally consider urban problems as of any particular consequence and usually the Ministry of Local Self-Government is considered one of the unimportant Ministries. To make matters worse, there are instances when State Governments superseded municipalities and corporations on political grounds though overtly some other reasons were given.

(5) The corporations and municipalities are, by and large, centres of inefficiency, corruption and political nepotism. Most of them are bankrupt and *cannot* in any way tackle the big problems in the field of housing, transport, environmental pollution, etc. Besides, they do not have adequate legal powers or the administrative machinery to implement a modern master plan. In short, the municipalities are not geared to urban planning as understood today but merely perform municipal functions as understood in the 19th century. They have neither the financial viability nor the legal backing to confront urban problems except in limited spheres such as zoning and land-use planning.

(6) Some bold efforts have been made to tackle the problems of a few cities. Examples: the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA). But in spite of some bright patches, the overall picture is dismal. The DDA has limited expertise in the field of housing, transport and other issues of urban development and its composition is again a hangover from 19th-century ideas on municipal administration. In Calcutta, for the last ten years the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation has been conducting studies which have generated some employment for economists, etc. without making any significant impact on the life of the city. The twin-city project of Bombay is still controversial.

There are hardly any studies on the constitutional aspects of urban administration. The basic problem can be posed as follows: In view of the growing complexity of urban problems and the financial and administrative weaknesses of the present obsolete form of municipal administration, is it possible to think in terms of a *national system of cities* based on a clear recognition of the role of big cities and the need for an adequate administrative machinery at the national level to deal with the problems of urban development? This calls for a re-appraisal of the role of the Centre, the States and the Local Governments within the framework of the present federal structure of India and also for constitutional changes essential for the implementation of a progressive policy for urban development—a policy which treats urbanization as a national issue and not merely as a State or local issue.

The Fourth Five Year Plan has provided for a new statutory body, the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), which is expected to build up a revolving fund of Rs. 200 crores (two billion). This is, no doubt, an ambitious proposition but here again, will the Government be

guided by obsolete forms of urban administration or will there be room for modernization and innovation?

The linking of urban problems to housing, slums and renewal has restricted our vision of urban development and failed to take note of the complexity of urban problems in terms of the growing pollution of soil, water and air, in terms of human environment, in terms of urbanization as a process essential for economic growth and social change. If urban problems are viewed in this wider perspective, it should be clear that there is need for rethinking on the role of cities in the national and not municipal context. In fact one must also consider the international aspects of the problem.

It is encouraging to note that the World Bank has a new division called the Economics of Urbanization Division and that Unesco has launched an ambitious programme on Man and His Environment—Design for Living.

In India, as in many other countries, there is growing conflict and violence in cities. Here again there is a great danger of interpreting this conflict and violence in a textbookish manner and talking about the high positive correlation between urbanization and social disharmony in terms of crime, murder and divorce. In Indian cities, it will be unrealistic to interpret conflict and violence as essentially a law and order problem which can be solved by the police and the army. There are deep rooted political, economic and social aspects which have to be studied, analyzed and understood before any solutions can be offered.

It must be clearly understood that the big cities have a national function apart from their regional and local function. Therefore, their economy must be linked with the national economy. This can be done if the Planning Commission treats a number of cities on a par with States in respect of allocation of funds. Detailed consideration will have to be given to the requirements of all such cities not only in terms of funds for housing, transport etc., but for the wider task of strengthening the economic base of these cities, which will in turn generate economic growth throughout the country. In other words instead of the Planning Commission identifying a few small towns in each State as growth centres to counteract metropolitan development, the strategy should be to identify metropolitan centres and back them up heavily. The guilt complex concerning helping big cities to grow bigger has its origin in 19th-century glorification of the countryside. Any plea for a rigid system to keep out migrants from big cities implies ignoring the basic tenets of democracy. Instead of condemning urbanization, we should look upon urbanization as the best generator of economic growth and social change in India. But of course it is not necessary for us to follow the beaten track of the 19th-century urbanization process. The need for innovation is great.

The Parliament should pass what might be called the Chartered Cities of India Act and designate chartered cities which will form the core of a national system of cities, planned and developed by a central agency with assistance from the Central and State Governments, the U N Agencies, the World Bank, etc. It is not intended that the chartered cities should become Union Territories. They will continue to be integral parts of the States in which they are located and elected representatives of the people will have a say in their running. But

there will be a new administrative-legal-financial apparatus to run these cities with the over-riding objective of generating rapid economic growth with social justice in a national framework and not merely in a narrow regional or local framework. By way of analogy, we may mention that Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India lists 14 languages without giving any territorial jurisdiction. These languages get special recognition but this does not mean that other languages are ignored. Similarly, the development of chartered cities should not mean the neglect of other cities. In selecting these chartered cities, we should keep in mind a number of criteria. By way of illustration we may mention the following: (a) population size, (b) economic base, (c) administrative function, and (d) strategic importance.

We give a list of chartered cities by way of illustration:

(a) *All cities with a population of over one million*: Greater Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad Kanpur and Poona. In the light of the 1971 census count, a few more cities will be added to this list, probably, Poona and Nagpur.

(b) *The new steel towns*: Durgapur, Bhilai, Rourkela, Bokaro. *The new port towns*: Paradeep, Haldia, Kandla, Okha. *Other industrial and transport centres*: Asansol, Baroda, Gorakhpur, Howrah, Jamshedpur, Kota, Ludhiana, Ranchi and Vishakhapatnam. *The newly planned cities*: Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar. Also the proposed new capitals of Haryana and Assam.

(c) *State capitals not included under (a)*: Agartala, Bhopal, Goa, Imphal, Jaipur, Kohima, Lucknow, Mysore, Patna, Pondicherry, Shillong, Simla, Srinagar, and Trivandrum.

(d) *Strategic cities (other than cantonments)*: Ambala, Amritsar, Cochin, Darjeeling, Gauhati, Jammu, Jullundur, Silchar and Siliguri.

It will be seen that most of these cities are Class I cities (population over 100,000) and that the small cities listed above have a large growth potential. Each city will, of course, have its metropolitan region for planning purposes. Our strategy is essentially metropolitan-based but it seeks a powerful administrative-legal-financial machinery to make these cities a part of the national system of cities which will help generate rapid economic growth and social change in India.

We conclude by referring to the following exhortations:

SAVE OUR CITIES
SAVE OUR SOIL
SAVE OUR AIR
SAVE OUR WATER

This is not a Vedic prayer but a set of captions on a series of four postal stamps released in the U.S.A. And yet there is nothing peculiarly American about this appeal. Cities all over the world have been overtaken by a deep crisis and it is now abundantly clear that this urban crisis has rendered the present form of urban government obsolete, ineffective and totally inadequate to meet the challenge of urbanization.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ENVIRONMENT AND POPULATION: SOME ECOLOGICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN ASIA*

Statement of the Problem

THE growing concern for the quality of life and the human environment has introduced a new dimension in demographic analysis and development planning. The recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, June 1972) has not only revealed the magnitude of the environmental problems facing developed as well as developing countries, but has also raised hopes for a better future for mankind as indicated in the action plan for the human environment.¹

The relationship between population growth and the degradation of human environment is a controversial subject. It is not necessary for us to go into this debate. Our primary concern in this Chapter is with the problems arising out of accelerated growth of population and increasing pace of urbanization in Asia in the last decade and the relevant issues and questions for the coming decades. However, we shall briefly present the viewpoint of some of the developing countries on the subject of environment and population.

At the Stockholm Conference, the population question was hotly debated and the discussions were full of sharp controversies, somewhat similar to the age-old controversies between Malthusians and Marxians. The United Nations statement on population in the Declaration on the Human Environment made a somewhat guarded statement as follows:

Demographic policies, which are without prejudice to basic human rights and which are deemed appropriate by Governments concerned, should be applied in those regions where the rate of population growth or excessive population concentrations are likely to have adverse effects on the environ-

*This chapter is based on a paper prepared by the author at the request of ECAFE for the Second Asian Population Conference, Tokyo, 1-13 November 1972.

¹ United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June, 1972. *An Action Plan for the Human Environment*, A/CONF 48/5, 9 February 1972.

ment or development, or where low population density may prevent improvement of the human environment and impede development.²

This was interpreted by some observers as side-stepping the population issue, while it provoked strong criticism in some other circles. For example, the delegate of the Chinese People's Republic maintained: "Our Government has always approved of family planning. But it is wholly groundless to think that population growth in itself will bring about pollution and damage to the environment and give rise to poverty and backwardness."³

The Prime Minister of India in her address to the Conference said that poverty was the greatest polluter and asserted that:

It is an over-simplification to blame all the world's problems on increasing population. Countries with but a small fraction of the world's population consume the bulk of the world's production of minerals, fossil fuels and so on. Thus we see that when it comes to the depletion of natural resources and environmental pollution, the increase of one inhabitant in an affluent country, at his level of living, is equivalent to an increase of many Asians, Africans or Latin Americans at their current material levels of living.⁴

Dr Carmen A. Miro, a distinguished Latin American demographer, observed:

Appealing to the need for population control as a means of environment conservation without accompanying it with an equally strong plea for drastic measures to change the social and economic conditions which have made possible its massive destruction, depletion and deterioration could evoke suspicions that the fortunate inhabitants of this planet are being confronted with a new Malthusian argument.⁵

We have referred to the viewpoints of the leaders of China, India and Latin America in order to emphasize the danger of over-emphasizing the impact of environmental factors on developing countries where the basic problem is lack of development. However, it will be futile to argue that the developing countries are not faced with environmental problems. In fact they are faced with two types of problems: the problems of a dual economy and the problems of underdevelopment. Most of these countries have a small modern industrial sector, and with programmes for rapid industrialization this sector is bound to grow. The problems of environmental pollution faced by this sector are similar to those faced by industrial countries in the West and by Japan in Asia. Then there is another set of problems of environment arising out of poverty like the absence of pure drinking water, environmental sanitation, etc. This set of problems has been neatly summed up by Dr. Gamani Corea of Ceylon:

² Quoted in *International Planned Parenthood News* No. 220, August 1972.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Address of Mrs Indira Gandhi to the UNCHE, June 14, 1972 Reproduced in Government of India, Office of Environmental Planning and Co-ordination Agenda Notes for the Second meeting of the *National Committee on Environmental Planning and Co-ordination*, Vol. 1, July 1972, p. 4.

⁵ IPPF News, op. cit.

Ours are the problems of a poor society the problems of bad water, poor housing, disease and sickness, lack of sanitation and sewage facilities, in adequacy of nutrition. They have not arisen from an excessive degree of development, rather, they reflect the inadequacy of development so that, while the rich countries may look upon development as the cause of environmental destruction, the poor countries cannot but look upon development as the cure and the means of remedying basic environmental problems. In this sense, therefore, the concern with environment in the developing world is but an aspect of the commitment to development. There is no inherent antagonism, no inherent conflict between the goals of environment and the goals of development.*

It may be recalled that Dr. Corea was associated with the panel of experts who prepared a report (well known as the Founex Report) on "Development and Environment" in June 1971. This report rightly points out that in the developing countries, it is not merely the "quality of life" that is endangered but "life itself is endangered by poor water, housing, sanitation and nutrition, by sickness and disease and by natural disasters. These are problems no less than those of industrial pollution, that clamour for attention in the context of the concern with human environment. They are problems which affect the greater mass of mankind."⁷

The environmental problems with specific reference to the Asian countries were considered at a seminar convened by ECAFE in August 1971. The Founex report was used as a basic document for this Seminar which generally endorsed the approach of the Founex report. This Seminar asserted that the developing countries of Asia "could benefit by the experience of Japan which had experienced unprecedentedly rapid economic growth in recent years and which, for that very reason, had also had to face severe problems of environmental disruption and degradation. The developing countries had an opportunity of attaining a better pattern of future development than had been achieved by the countries that had already industrialized."⁸

The environmental problems with specific reference to the ecological implications of rural and urban population growth in the ECAFE region were further discussed in a subsequent seminar convened by the ECAFE in August-September 1971. This Seminar observed that "from a consideration of the interrelation of all aspects of the human environment, population appeared as the key factor in understanding environmental problems."⁹ Rapid population growth was seen as one of the contributors to disequilibrium in the ecosystem.

Till recently it was customary to discuss the demographic aspects of urbanization and recommend policies for influencing internal migration. For example,

* *ECAFE Report of the Regional Seminar on the Ecological Implications of Rural and Urban Population Growth*, Bangkok, E/CN.11/L.312, 30 September 1971, p. 55.

⁷ *UNCHE Development and Environment Annex. I Report on Development and Environment (Founex Report)*, A/CONF.48/10, 22 December 1971, p. 4.

⁸ *ECAFE Report of the Seminar on Development and Environment*, Bangkok, E/CN.11/999, 30 August 1971, pp. 9-10.

⁹ *Op. cit.* (See Reference No. 6), p. 6.

at the First Asian Population Conference held in 1963, the two major themes of policy were: "policies relating to such measures as fertility, public health and family planning on the one hand, and urbanization and internal migration on the other...."¹⁰ But today the emphasis is on total developmental effort. To quote the ECAFE Seminar on ecological implications (August-September 1971) we have already referred to:

Recognizing that growth, distribution and migration of population may have a pervading influence on environmental deterioration, the Seminar strongly recommends that attention to the interaction between population and environment receive the highest priority at all stages of development planning and at all levels—local, regional, national and international.¹¹

The Stockholm Conference made an urgent plea for treating environmental concerns as "an added dimension in planning and not merely as a further claim on limited resources," and "to formulate a new strategy of development centred on the elimination of mass poverty and on the creation of a decent human environment."¹²

The Second Asian Population Conference should, therefore, indicate the guidelines for the new development strategy which gives due consideration to the environmental variables as well as to the population variables. In this context, the goals and objectives of the United Nations Second Development Decade¹³ must be kept in mind. Briefly these are: (a) an average annual rate of growth of at least 6 per cent per annum in the gross national product implying a 4 per cent rate of growth in agricultural output and an 8 per cent rate of growth in manufacturing output; (b) an average annual expansion of 0.5 per cent in the ratio of gross domestic saving to the gross product so that this ratio rises to around 20 per cent by 1980 and (c) a somewhat less than 7 per cent rise in imports and a somewhat higher than 7 per cent rise in exports per annum.

The International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade assumes that the average annual increase in population in developing countries will be 2.5 per cent which is less than the average rate at present forecast for the 1970s. Only then it would be possible to bring about an average annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent per head which will represent a doubling of average income per head in the course of the next two decades.

We have mentioned all this in order to guard against any excessive concern for environment in the developing countries in Asia sidetracking the basic goals of development in terms of a minimum level of living for the teeming millions, and also to emphasize the overriding necessity for effective population control in the immediate future.

¹⁰ United Nations: *Report of the Asian Population Conference and Selected Papers* (New Delhi, December 1963), New York, 1964, p. 29.

¹¹ ECAFE Report, op. cit. (see Reference No. 6), p. 41.

¹² UNCHE: *Development and Environment*, op. cit., p. 19.

¹³ United Nations: *International Development Strategy: Action Programme of the General Assembly for the Second United Nations Development Decade*, New York, 1970, pp. 3-4.

Review of the 1960s

There have been several significant developments of demographic interest in Asian countries since the First Asian Population Conference was held in New Delhi in 1963. Broadly, these are (1) an acceleration in the rate of population growth, (2) an acceleration in the pace of urbanization, (3) a breakthrough in agriculture ushering in the green revolution in some countries, (4) an increasing tempo of industrialization, (5) increasing unemployment especially in the urban areas, (6) the formulation of family planning programmes in most countries with varying degrees of success in the implementation of the programme, (7) the limited success in policies aimed at restricting migration to the cities and of efforts to bring about a more balanced rural and urban development, (8) a greater concern for the problems of mass poverty and in particular, the need for land reforms and a better distribution of income and wealth, and, finally, (9) a growing realization of the need for social development along with economic growth and, in particular, a better appreciation of the hitherto neglected topics like nutrition, status of women, role of children and youth, housing needs, social security requirements, etc.

All these factors are not necessarily confined to the Asian scene. By and large, they are relevant in all developing countries. For the purpose of this paper, however, we shall consider a disturbing element in regard to policies designed to slow down migration to the big cities, bring about a better dispersal of industries, build new cities and attain a more balanced growth of rural and urban areas. By and large, these policies have not succeeded. In India, for example, the 1971 census data reveal an increasing tempo of urbanization of the big cities in spite of the objective of dispersal of industries laid down in all the five year plans. During the 1961-71 decade, 63 per cent of the net increase in population of urban areas occurred in cities with population of 100,000 and over.¹⁴ Master plans of cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi have not succeeded in stemming the tide of migration. On the other hand, small towns have, by and large, stagnated. New towns have proved very costly from the financial point of view and many of them "have become isolated communities and have not struck roots in their environment."¹⁵ The talk of growth centres is still at the theoretical level¹⁶ and, in spite of financial and other incentives for industries to move out of big cities, "the entire gamut of economic and sociological forces governing the location of industries is still overwhelmingly in favour of large metropolitan areas."¹⁷

There are, however, a few success stories. In a recent review of "A Decade

¹⁴ See Chapter 8.

¹⁵ K. V. Sundaram "Towards a National Urban Policy in India" (mimeographed paper), Town and Country Planning Organisation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 21.

¹⁶ Cf. Lalit Sen, *et al.* *Planning Rural Growth Centres for Integrated Area Development: A Study in Miryalguda Taluka*, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1971.

¹⁷ Ardendu Bhattacharyya and Madhav Nalapat *A Decade of Industrial Dispersal from Greater Bombay* (mimeographed paper), City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, Bombay, March 1972, p. 10.

of Industrial Dispersal from Greater Bombay 1960-70," it is pointed out that this decade witnessed a rapid growth of areas contiguous to the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay and the belt extending up to Poona.¹⁸

In 1962 the Maharashtra Government set up the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) with the twin objective of setting up well-planned industrial areas on the periphery of Bombay as well as setting up of industrial estates in backward areas of the State. In 1966, the Maharashtra Government introduced an elaborate scheme of monetary incentives and industrial assistance programme to promote industrialization outside the Bombay-Poona belt. The entire programme of such assistance is channelled through a specially created institution called the State Industrial and Investment Corporation of Maharashtra (SICOM). The policy of industrial dispersal is reflected in the fact that in 1964, Bombay City accounted for 63 per cent of the new industrial licences in Maharashtra State while in 1970 the share of Bombay was only 25 per cent.¹⁹

However, in countries like India, the modern manufacturing sector in the urban areas is so small that it is incapable of absorbing millions of under-employed persons from the rural areas who are dependent on subsistence agriculture. In spite of the substantial increase in industrial output in the last decade, India is faced with the problem of structural stagnation and the prospect of a significant transfer of population from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector is far from bright. And yet the migration from rural to urban areas continues, bringing about a demographic expansion of the big cities without a matching economic expansion and the development of the urban infrastructure. This strains the urban system leading to increasing environmental disruption and degradation. At the same time, the lack of rural development adds to the problems of environment in the rural areas.

The situation is similar in several other developing countries of Asia. A recent study on Mainland China points out "the dilemma in several developed countries, where the urban sector is beset with educated unemployment, while the development of rural sector is handicapped by a failure to recruit persons with education and skills to staff the modern infrastructure in the rural areas."²⁰ In order to tackle this problem, "China introduced a movement (called the rustication movement or 'down-to-the-countryside and up-to-the-mountain movement') under which urban school graduates were resettled in the countryside and employed there to act as catalytic agents of rural development."²¹ The history of the rustication movement in China from 1957 onwards has been summed up by Pi-chao Chen as follows:

As early as 1956, Mao commented on the desirability of encouraging the intellectuals (namely, the educated) to go to the countryside: "All intellectuals who have the chance should be very happy to go to the countryside. In the

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 2.

²⁰ Pi-chao Chen: "Over-urbanization, Rustication of Urban-Educated Youths, and Politics of Rural Transformation—The Case of China," *Comparative Politics*, April 1972, p. 364.

²¹ Ibid, p. 365.

vast rural areas, there is plenty of room for them to realize their talents to the full." In spite of this, it was not until 1957 that Peking launched the first rustication movement. Beginning in April 1957, all those graduates of primary and secondary schools who came to the cities to receive education and failed either to gain admission into the higher educational institutions or to get a job in the city were returned to the villages from which they originally came. This first movement was, however, short-lived, as it was suspended in 1958 when the country was plunged into the Great Leap campaign and the people's communization movement. Following the economic recession in the wake of the Great Leap and communization campaigns, Peking reinstated the movement in 1962.²²

Between early 1962 and early 1964, some 292,000 secondary school graduates were resettled in rural areas under the rustication programme. In 1964 alone, more than 400,000 primary and secondary school graduates were resettled in the countryside. In the eight-month period to August 1965, another 250,000 urban school graduates were dispatched. Shortly after this, however, the urban rural migration was not only halted but reversed, thanks to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution.²³

In 1966 the rustication programme came to an abrupt halt but it was revived in 1968.

Within two years of the resumption of this movement, "several million graduates of junior middle schools, senior middle schools, and universities have marched forward magnificently to the hinterland, frontiers, and vast rural villages." Estimates of the total number of rusticated urban educated youths vary, from 10 to 15 million. Any figure within this range of magnitude would definitely rank this population movement as one of the greatest migrations in history within the time span of two to three years.²⁴

Chen concludes that

the rustication programme has become an important component of the emergency Peking strategy to channel more resources and skilled manpower away from the cities to the countryside in an attempt to transform the "face" of rural China as rapidly as possible.²⁵

The conventional wisdom, inspired by the Western experience, that offers "industrialization" (in the Western sense of the term) as the panacea for absorbing "surplus labor" and solving the related problem of poverty is at best misleading and at worst disastrous, at least in the short run. In the context of the contemporary Third World, a more realistic approach to the "urban crisis" and related problems has to be one that includes meaningful land reform, extension of credit and modern farming techniques to the rural

²² Ibid., p. 366.

²³ Ibid., pp. 367-68.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 369.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 369.

areas, and establishment of dispersed small and medium-scale, labor-intensive, capital-saving industry in the rural areas.⁴⁶

Issues and Questions of the 1970s and 1980s

The statistical dimensions of the problems facing the ECAFE region in the 1970s and 1980s have been indicated in a recent ECAFE working paper on "Growth and Distribution of the Rural and Urban Population of the ECAFE Region."⁴⁷ Here we shall be concerned with some issues rather than a statistical picture of the coming decades. Briefly, the main issues in the context of environment are in respect of the following:

- (1) the issue of population growth;
- (2) the problems of modernization of agriculture and rural development;
- (3) the problems created by industrialization; and
- (4) the issue of urbanization.

A striking feature of the demographic situation in the ECAFE region is that the total population of this region which was about 2,000 million in 1970 is likely to be around 3,600 million by the year 2000. That is to say, the population of the ECAFE region will roughly equal the world population of 1970.

Another important aspect is that 75 to 80 per cent of the population of the Asian region is in the rural areas and the proportion is expected to go down to 68 to 70 per cent by 1985. This will imply an absolute increase in rural population of the order of 370 to 400 million.

The growth in the urban population in the coming decades in the Asian countries of the ECAFE region is expected to be high. It is estimated that the urban population in 2000 will be over seven times that of 1950. In terms of big cities, it has been pointed out that 11 out of the 25 largest cities in the world are in the Asian countries of the ECAFE region.

The increasing pressure of population both in rural areas and urban areas will no doubt worsen the environment unless effective measures to bring down the fertility level are taken. However, it must not be forgotten that in countries where roughly 70 per cent of the population is dependent on agriculture and where about half of the national product is generated in the agricultural sector, the quest for a better environment must begin with a substantial increase in the productivity of agriculture. Further, as long as agriculture is heavily dependent on rainfall, the erratic occurrences of drought and floods bring about environmental degradation probably to a much greater extent than that resulting from a "secular" growth of population, however rapid it may be.

The green revolution in countries like India, Pakistan and Philippines has raised high hopes of rapid strides in the modernization of agriculture and the resulting improvement in the level of living of the rural masses.

In 1970s and 1980s, one of the important issues will be the impact of the green revolution on the mobility of labour. Will the green revolution increase

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

⁴⁷ ECAFE: *Growth and Distribution of the Rural and Urban Population of the ECAFE Region* (mimeographed) POP/Sem ERUP/BP/2, 25 August, 1971.

the flow of migration from rural to urban areas and even bring about a reversal in the trend and generate urban to rural migration? We do not have enough data to answer these questions on a firm basis. There are very few studies on the subject though the literature on the green revolution is considerable. In a recent review of the material on India, T. J. Byres gives 104 references to studies on the green revolution in India.²⁸ But there is very little material on the impact of the green revolution on the mobility of labour.

We may refer here to a recent OECD study on "Technological Change in Agriculture and Employment in Developing Countries" which refers to the paradox of the existence of an abundant supply of agricultural labour in the less developed economies and the adoption of mechanization in agriculture. The study pleads for selective mechanization to overcome seasonal shortages without unduly displacing labour. This study rightly observes:

The rapid rates of increase in the labour force, the pattern of industrial development and the limited opportunities for remunerative employment outside of agriculture make it somewhat pointless to view the greater part of this surplus as a reserve of workers for non agricultural development. The problem of withdrawing families from agriculture without thereby reducing agricultural output, thus, is rarely a relevant policy issue in labour surplus economies.²⁹

In another recent study conducted at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi on the employment implications of green revolution and mechanization on the basis of a case study of Punjab, C. H. H. Rao concludes:

Tractorisation would have a positive impact on employment only when its complementarity with irrigation and high yielding varieties (HYV) becomes critical for expanding output. Such a situation seems to obtain at present only among large farms and in the developed regions. Since small farms are able to achieve higher cropping intensity than the larger farms without the use of tractors and since the labour use per acre among them is much higher among large farms, measures to effect a transfer of land from the large to small farms have a high employment potential.³⁰

Land reform thus is as much a part of modernization of agriculture as the use of high yielding varieties of seeds, better fertilizers, assured water supply and selective mechanization of agriculture.

Now we shall briefly turn to industrialization. As we have already indicated,

²⁸ T. J. Byres "The Dialectic of India's Green Revolution," *South Asian Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, January 1972, pp. 111-16.

²⁹ Montague Yudelman *et al.* *Technological Change in Agriculture and Employment in Developing Countries*. OECD Development Centre Studies, Employment Series No. 4, Paris, 1971, p. 161.

³⁰ C. H. H. Rao *Employment Implications of Green Revolution and Mechanization in Agriculture in Developing Countries: A Case Study of India*. Presented at an international conference on *Place of Agriculture in the Development of Underdeveloped Countries* convened by the International Economic Association at Bad Godesberg, West Germany, 26 August-4 September, 1972, pp. 12-13.

in spite of professed policies of decentralization and dispersal of industries, the economies of scale in many developing countries favour the concentration of industries in big cities. It is futile to recommend that new industries should be established in small towns as long as it is uneconomical to do so because of considerations of market, transportation costs, etc. The strategy of establishing new growth poles, which act as links between the big cities and the rural hinterland and avoid the adverse effects of city-based industrialization, has no doubt considerable merit but there are several problems in the actual implementation of such a policy. The existing infra-structure in small towns is so poor that unless massive investments are made, the small towns cannot really serve as growth centres. The other alternative is to build new towns but this calls for even more massive investments. The result is that industries spread along the transport network and this leads to "ribbon" development and a haphazard urban sprawl. This results in serious problems of environmental disruption, especially in the unplanned industrial-urban belts which have the disadvantages of both rural areas and urban areas. Sometimes whole villages are swallowed up by the urban sprawl and these rural pockets in urban areas become major centres of environmental pollution, unhygienic conditions, sub-standard housing, crime, violence, etc. The problem is further accentuated by land speculation, ineffective municipal control of areas beyond the municipal limits, and very often political nepotism and corruption. This problem of rural pockets in urban areas is not the same as the problem of industrial slums. This is basically a problem of unregulated human settlement and the arbitrary conversion of agricultural land into industrial and residential land. Unless adequate steps are taken to meet this situation, the environmental problems will further multiply.

Finally, we come to urbanization. In many Asian cities, perhaps the biggest threat to environment in the big cities is from the squatter problem. The increasing flow of migrants to the big cities coupled with extreme housing shortage and the high cost of house construction and high rental values have all contributed to this problem. Big cities in India like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi have been fighting unsuccessfully the squatter problem. Further, on account of luxury housing and the emergence of skyscrapers in these cities, the disparity in the housing standards of the rich and the poor is increasing. Then there is the problem of pavement-dwellers whose plight is worse than that of the squatters. All these pose a threat not only to environment but to law and order, and even political stability. In such a situation, the talk of the quality of life can only refer to the elite and not to the masses.

Then there is the problem of increasing unemployment, especially among the educated youth in the urban areas. This has generated several types of conflicts and tensions—the conflict between the "sons of the soil" and the "outsiders"—the migrants, the clamour for jobs and the spurts of violence.

The inadequacies of the public transport system is very often the cause of violence in Indian cities and the anger of the masses is converted into frequent burning of public buses. While the western cities are getting polluted by too many cars, Indian cities are facing disruption on account of too few public

buses, and the talk of air pollution sounds unreal to the city-dwellers in India. But the problem of air pollution does exist and is increasing. As a recent study of air pollution in nine big cities of India concludes: "Air pollution which once seemed so remote, is no longer so and isolated pockets of fairly severe pollution are to be found all over the country."³¹

Increasing industrialization and urbanization pose new problems of environment but the old problems continue to be severe. From this point of view, developing countries are facing the double hardship of environmental deterioration.

Identification of Information Gap

In order to understand the interrelation between population and environment in the developing countries, it will be necessary to strengthen the statistical system and collect considerable additional data both on population and environment. It would be also necessary to make a fuller use of the available data through intensive tabulation schemes for the census and sample surveys, but this would also call for at least the minimum facilities for computerization of such data in these countries. The need for scientific sample surveys in various fields is apparent and this is especially true of studies on pollution on which hardly any data exist in developing countries.

The UNCHE recommended the following priority areas for collection of basic information: surveys of the present state of the environment and the hazards to which it is likely to be exposed, studies and surveys to determine the extent to which the environment is affected by mass poverty, malnutrition, housing shortage, inadequate water supply, disease and illiteracy.

The UNCHE also recommended reviews of existing legislation available to implement national environment policies and objectives to determine new legislative actions and also analytical studies of other countries which are developing environmental programmes and policies.³²

The ECAFE Seminar on ecological implications emphasized the need for adequate data for assessment of the relation between population and environment and also for evaluation of the success of various "curative and preventive policies." The Seminar recommended that concerted efforts be made for providing separate data on the urban and rural populations and on cities of different size and for collecting "information on migration which will permit assessment of who moves, why, from and to where, and what impact such movement has on the migrant and on his community of origin and destination." The Seminar also highlighted the need for improving population projections since environmental planning requires good estimates of the future size and rural urban distribution of population.³³

The cost of data collection is an important consideration in developing

³¹ S. J. Arceivala, *Environmental Problems in India* (mimeographed), Central Public Health Engineering Research Institute, Nagpur, 1971, p. 54.

³² UNCHE, *Development and Environment*, op. cit., p. 10.

³³ ECAFE Report, op. cit. (See Reference No. 6), p. 41.

countries which have limited resources and the budgetary allocations for research are generally scanty. There is also a prevalent view in some quarters that research in a poor country is a luxury and bureaucrats often tend to regard with suspicion evaluation studies which imply a criticism of governmental policies. The administration of research grants is often based on out-moded colonial practices with the overriding authority resting with the Ministry of Finance. Under these circumstances, research cannot develop on sound lines.

We submit that instead of merely listing items of additional data collection and identifying research gaps, the Second Asian Population Conference should make firm recommendations keeping in view the following:

1. The need for evolving a set of indicators for social and economic development in Asian countries which emphasize relevant indicators rather than generally accepted indicators in the western countries.
2. Methods of modernizing the population census which is the most important single source of information on the life of the people. The possibility of conducting five-yearly censuses to synchronize with five year plans should be explored.
3. Ways of strengthening the statistical system to make it more unified by cutting out duplication of work and multiplicity of agencies.
4. Generating an atmosphere of scientific enquiry and research by discarding bureaucratic procedures and introducing innovations in research administration.
5. Pledging 10 per cent of the developmental outlay in each field for research and data collection. This is especially true of areas like health, family planning, housing, environment, etc.
6. Evolving a suitable mechanism whereby the research findings are automatically conveyed to and taken note of by policy-makers so that research is translated into action.

A word of caution is also called for. The craze for data collection and unnecessary computer work in the name of research which has become a big industry in some countries should be avoided by the developing countries. The quality of life cannot be improved merely by massive quantities of data. Quantifying poverty may interest some scholars but neither the problems of population nor of environment can be solved unless we respect human values more than decimal points.

Directions for Action Relevant to Planning, Implementation and Evaluation

Space does not permit us to go into the manifold aspects of action programmes in the light of our discussion so far. In this concluding section, we shall make only one recommendation for the consideration of planners and policy-makers.

It is clear that at least in the next two decades, several developing countries like India will remain predominantly rural and agricultural, and the prospects

of any reduction in absolute terms in the rural labour force are bleak. City based industrialization and urbanization have a limited potentiality for absorbing surplus labour from rural areas. The number of migrants to cities will no doubt increase in absolute terms but in terms of industrial structure of the region as a whole, it is unlikely that there will be drastic changes. The population problem, therefore, must be viewed not only in terms of a slowly declining birth rate and a rapidly declining death rate bringing about a demographic gap but also in terms of the inertia of the economic structure and the resulting "stagnation trap". While the demographic gap can be reduced by a more effective formulation and implementation of family planning programmes, bold development measures must be adopted to overcome the stagnation trap.

If surplus labour cannot be transferred from rural areas to urban areas, the solution would be in siphoning off surplus labour from one region to another within the same country. This is of course a well known proposition and several countries do have plans for population redistribution, planned migration and resettlement of people. But these steps have not been very successful because the availability of land for new settlement is limited in most Asian countries facing the population problem. Further opening up new areas for settlement calls for massive investment in infra structure and the problem of adequate employment opportunities persists in the newly settled areas also.

Our proposal is basically in terms of generating increased *mobility of labour* in an organized manner without attempting resettlement of people on a permanent basis. In India, for example, the system of labour recruitment through labour contractors was quite common. Even today much of the construction labour is contract labour. However, this is a very undesirable method of recruitment which looks upon human beings only from the point of view of cost of production and every effort is, therefore, made to minimize this "cost". On the other hand, recruitment of labour through employment exchanges has not worked in rural areas, and, by and large, the migrant labour is heavily dependent on the network of relations and fellow villagers in other regions, especially in the big cities.

The Government should establish Labour Banks all over the country and especially in the rural areas in order to recruit systematically labour from surplus areas and transfer them to the deficit areas even on a short term basis. It is well known that there is full employment during harvest time in rural areas and in areas which have witnessed the green revolution there is even shortage of labour during peak seasons. Schemes to generate such mobility of labour will obviate the need for mechanization of agriculture which is going on in the green revolution areas even though there is surplus labour in the country as a whole. In a country like India such a scheme must succeed in overcoming the social and cultural barriers (like language, caste, religion) which inhibit the free flow of labour. The cost of migration should be cut down by introducing free railway passes and as far as possible, the migration should be confined to workers only or groups of family workers and exclude dependents. There should be short term training programmes and orientation courses and the workers should be housed in self help low-cost camps and temporary

hutments in a decent environment and not left to fend for themselves. There should be a Central Labour Bank which will keep a continuous watch on the employment market and direct the flow of labour throughout the country. Distance should not deter any migrant under our scheme. The familiar process of *step-migration should be skipped and the maximum mobility of labour* generated. In the matter of recruitment, preference should be given to the landless workers in rural areas and the marginal workers in urban areas. Adequate legislative and administrative measures will have to be taken to facilitate the working of these Labour Banks throughout the country under the Ministry of Labour and Employment. The question of regulation of wages and enforcing a minimum wage rate must also be tackled effectively.

In brief, an attack on mass poverty can be made by generating mobility of labour in a big way throughout the country even on a seasonal or temporary basis. This will generate employment, income and occupational mobility and help in attaining a better ecological balance and also relieve the heavy pressure of population on land in some parts of the country, meet the new demand for labour in green-revolution areas and eventually release the forces of demographic and economic modernization on a lasting basis.

PART SEVEN

**A Statistical Profile of Urban India
and Rural-Urban Contrasts**

SOURCES OF STATISTICAL MATERIAL

THE statistical material for the study of urbanization in India lies scattered in numerous census volumes, National Sample Survey reports, official documents of the Registrar General, Planning Commission, Central Statistical Organisation, reports of socio economic surveys of cities and other books and monographs on cities and urban population. An average user of such data is quite lost in the maze of this statistical material. The census is by far the most important source of data and yet for an average reader, consulting census tables is like consulting a railway time table. It is difficult, tedious and frustrating.

We have attempted to present systematically the statistical source material for the study of urbanization in India in an earlier publication.¹ In that book we have discussed at length the three main sources of statistical material, namely, the Census, the National Sample Surveys and the socio-economic survey reports. We did not, however, present any statistics as our concern was with the source material.

Here we shall present a series of statistical tables on different aspects of urbanization and also highlight rural urban contrasts and intra urban variations. These tables are primarily meant as reference tables for the use of students of urbanization. As far as possible, the latest 1971 Census material has been incorporated. Most of the tables, however, are based on the 1961 Census. It may be noted that most of these are processed tables and not copied directly from the Census volumes. While processing these tables, we have taken care to present them in the simplest possible manner so that even a layman can understand these tables. In our view, the major limitation of the census tables is that they terrify the layman but do not satisfy the sophisticated user of census data. In presenting these tables in the form we have, our primary concern is with the average scholar, but even the advanced students of the subject may find some of the tables useful and may even be motivated to launch upon a rigorous use of the statistical material directly from the census volumes.

We have not commented on these tables because this will burden this book with too much material. The tables should speak for themselves. Of course, much of the analysis given in the preceding chapters of this book is based on this statistical material but we have taken care to see that the 169 tables presented here form an independent section and can be consulted without referring to the text of this book.

The tables are distributed into the following thirteen sections*

¹ Ashish Bose *Urbanization in India—An Inventory of Source Materials* Bombay Academic Books, Bombay 1970.

PART IV A(i)	Housing Report
PART IV A(ii)	Report on Industrial Establishments
PART IV A(iii)	House Types and Villages Layouts
PART IV B	Housing and Establishment Tables

Tables 74-78 are compiled from Asok Mitra *Internal Migration and Urbanization in India Part II Appendices* Paper for ECAFE Expert Working Group on Problems of Internal Migration and Urbanization Bangkok 1967 Issued by the Office of the Registrar General New Delhi 1967 (mimeographed)

Census of India 1971

Paper No 1 of 1971 *Provisional Population Totals*

Paper No 1 of 1971 *Supplement Provisional Population Totals*

Paper No 1 of 1972 *Final Population Totals*

Tables 143-144 National Sample Survey No 85 *Tables and Notes on Employment and Unemployment in Urban India* Fourteenth Round (1958-59)

Table 145 National Sample Survey No 53 *Tables with Notes on Internal Migration* Thirteenth Round (1957-58)

National Sample Survey No 126 *Tables with Notes on Internal Migration* Fifteenth Round (1959-60)

Tables 146-47 NSS No 126 *op cit*

Tables 148-158 V M Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath *Poverty in India* Issued by the Ford Foundation New Delhi 1970

Tables 159-169 *Report on the Population Projections Worked Out under the Guidance of the Expert Committee set up by the Planning Commission under the Chairmanship of the Registrar General, India* Issued by the Office of the Registrar-General India New Delhi 1969

Tables 170-172 These have been taken from the *Country Statement for India* presented at the Second Asian Population Conference Tokyo 1-13 November 1972 Issued by the Government of India Department of Statistics Central Statistical Organisation New Delhi

Table 173 This has been computed from data presented in *Pocket Book on Population Statistics* issued by the Registrar General India on the occasion of Census Centenary October 1972

Tables 174-178 Taken from the *Country Statement for India, 1972*

Table 179 Computed from data presented in the Census of India 1971 paper No 2 of 1972 *Religion*

Table 180 *Country Statement for India 1972* and *Pocket Book on Population Statistics 1972*

Tables 181-82 Taken from the *Country Statement for India 1972*

Tables 183 & 184 Computed from data presented in *Census of India 1971 Paper 3 of 1972 Economic Characteristics of Population* Table B I Part A

Tables 185-196 Computed from data presented in *Census of India 1971—All India Census Tables* (Estimated from 1 per cent sample data) Tables B III Part A and B B V Part B D I and D-II

Table 197 Office of the Registrar General *Sample Registration Bulletin* Vol VII No 1 January-March 1973 Tables I-IV

Table 198 Operations Research Group Baroda *Family Planning Practices in India The First All India Survey Report* Baroda 1973 Tables 7.1 to 7.2

- I Growth and Distribution of Rural and Urban Population
- II Density, Sex Ratio, Age Structure and Marital Status
- III Literacy and Educational Level
- IV Religion, Caste and Mother Tongue
- V Labour Force
- VI Migration
- VII Housing
- VIII Industrial Establishments
- IX Characteristics of Urban Classes by Population Size
- X Growth of Six Classes of Towns
- XI Data on Individual Cities
- XII Selected Data from National Sample Surveys
- XIII Population Projections

It may be noted that Sections I to XI are based on census data. In Section XII we have presented a few tables based on NSS data by way of illustrating how NSS material can supplement census material. For example, the 1961 census presented tables for workers and also for persons by marital status but there was no table which gave the cross-tabulation of workers by marital status. Thus one could not answer a simple question like: How many women workers are married? Fortunately, the NSS presents data on this subject and this is illustrated in Table 144. Similarly, the Census does not collect data on causes of migration but the NSS did. Table 145 illustrates this point.

Tables 148-158 are taken from an important study which is based on NSS data, namely: V. M. Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath, *Poverty in India*. Issued by the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, 1970.

We shall now briefly indicate the sources of data without giving the details for each table.

Tables 1-142:

Census of India 1961, Volume I:

PART I-A(ii)-TABLES: Levels of Regional Development in India

- PART II-A(i) : General Population Tables
- PART II-A(ii) : Union Primary Census Abstracts
- PART II-B(i) : General Economic Tables (B-I to B-IV)
- PART II-B(ii) : General Economic Tables (B-V)
- PART II-B(iii) : General Economic Tables (B-VI to B-IX)
- PART II-C(i) : Social and Cultural Tables
- PART II-C(ii) : Language Tables
- PART II-C(iii) : Migration Tables (D-I to D-III and D-V)
- PART II-C(iv) : Migration Tables (D-IV and D-VI)

- PART III-(i) : Household Economic Tables (14 States)
- PART III-(ii) : Household Economic Tables (India, Uttar Pradesh and Union Territories)

Section I: Growth and Distribution of Rural and Urban Population

TABLE 1—TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA, 1901-71

(in millions)

Year			Total	Rural	Urban
1901	..	..	238.40	212.55	25.85
1911	..	..	252.09	226.15	25.94
1921	..	..	251.32	223.23	28.09
1931	..	..	278.98	245.52	33.46
1941	..	..	318.66	274.51	44.15
1951	..	..	361.09	298.65	62.44
1961	..	..	439.24	360.30*	78.94*
1971	..	..	547.95	438.86	109.09

*In 1961, a new definition of "urban" was adopted. This figure, therefore, is not strictly comparable to the 1951 figure unless suitable adjustments are made (see chapter 2).

Tables 199-200: *Census of India, 1971. Post-Enumeration Check, Preliminary Results, 1973* (Mimeo.), Statements II and III.

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TABLE 4—DECENNIAL GROWTH RATES OF STATE POPULATION, INDIA, 1901-71 (Percentages)

States	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51	1951-61	1961-71
Andhra Pradesh ..	+12.5	-0.1	+13.0	+12.8	+14.0	+15.7	+20.9
Assam ..	+16.9	+20.2	+20.1	+20.5	+20.1	+35.1	+34.7
Bihar ..	+3.7	-0.7	+11.5	+12.2	+10.3	+20.0	+21.3
Gujarat ..	+7.8	+3.8	+12.9	+19.3	+18.7	+26.9	+29.4
Haryana ..	-9.7	+2.0	+7.1	+15.6	+7.6	+33.8	+32.2
Himachal Pradesh ..	-1.2	+1.7	+5.2	+11.5	+5.4	+17.9	+23.0
Jammu & Kashmir ..	+7.2	+3.8	+10.1	+10.4	+10.4	+9.4	+29.7
Kerala ..	+11.8	+9.2	+21.9	+16.0	+22.8	+24.8	+26.3
Madhya Pradesh ..	+15.3	-1.4	+11.4	+12.3	+8.7	+24.2	+28.7
Maharashtra ..	+10.7	-2.9	+14.9	+12.0	+19.3	+23.6	+27.5
Mysore ..	+3.6	-1.1	+9.4	+11.1	+19.4	+21.6	+24.2
Nagaland ..	+46.8	+6.6	+12.6	+6.0	+8.6	+14.1	+39.9
Orissa ..	+10.4	-1.9	+11.9	+10.2	+6.4	+19.8	+25.0
Punjab ..	-10.8	+6.3	+12.0	+19.8	-4.6	+21.6	+21.7
Rajasthan ..	+6.7	-6.3	+14.1	+18.0	+15.2	+26.2	+27.8
Tamil Nadu ..	+8.6	+3.5	+8.5	+11.9	+14.7	+11.9	+22.3
Uttar Pradesh ..	-1.0	-3.1	+6.7	+13.6	+11.8	+16.7	+19.8
West Bengal ..	+6.3	-2.9	+8.1	+22.9	+13.2	+32.8	+26.9

TABLE 2.—TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF STATES IN INDIA, 1971
(in millions)

States	Total	Rural	Urban
INDIA	547.95	438.86	109.09
Andhra Pradesh ..	43.50	35.10	8.40
Assam	14.96	13.63	1.33
Bihar	56.35	50.72	5.63
Gujarat	26.70	19.20	7.50
Haryana	10.03	8.26	1.77
Himachal Pradesh ..	3.46	3.22	0.24
Jammu & Kashmir ..	4.62	3.76	0.86
Kerala	21.35	17.88	3.47
Madhya Pradesh ..	41.65	34.87	6.78
Maharashtra	50.41	34.70	15.71
Mysore	29.30	22.18	7.12
Nagaland	0.52	0.47	0.05
Orissa	21.94	20.10	1.84
Punjab	13.55	10.33	3.22
Rajasthan	25.76	21.22	4.54
Tamil Nadu	41.20	28.73	12.47
Uttar Pradesh	88.34	75.95	12.39
West Bengal	44.31	33.34	10.97

*Includes Mizo district, now constituted as Union Territory of Mizoram.

TABLE 3.—DECENNIAL GROWTH RATES, INDIA, 1901-71

(percentages)

	Total	Rural	Urban
1901-11 ..	+5.75	+6.40	+0.35
1911-21 ..	-0.31	-1.29	+8.27
1921-31 ..	+11.00	+9.98	+19.12
1931-41 ..	+14.22	+11.80	+31.97
1941-51 ..	+13.31	+8.79	+41.43
1951-61 ..	+21.51	+20.64*	+26.41*
1961-71 ..	+24.75	+21.80	+38.20

*Not adjusted for definitional change of "urban" between 1951 and 1961.

TABLE 6—RURAL AND URBAN DECENNIAL GROWTH RATES IN STATES, 1961-71

<i>States</i>			<i>Total</i> %	<i>Rural</i> %	<i>Urban</i> %	<i>Ratio of</i> <i>Urban/</i> <i>Rural</i>
INDIA			24.80	21.80	38.21	1.74
Andhra Pradesh	..		20.90	18.15	33.92	1.87
Assam*	..		34.71	32.88	51.47	1.56
Bihar	.		21.31	19.22	43.95	2.29
Gujarat	..		29.39	25.36	41.00	1.62
Haryana	.		32.23	30.48	35.61	1.16
Himachal Pradesh			23.04	20.82	35.54	1.70
Jammu & Kashmir			29.65	26.65	44.65	1.68
Kerala			26.29	24.61	35.72	1.45
Madhya Pradesh			28.67	25.68	46.63	1.82
Maharashtra			27.45	22.22	40.75	1.83
Mysore			24.22	21.05	35.23	1.67
Nagaland			39.88	32.86	168.28	5.12
Orissa			25.05	22.26	66.30	2.98
Punjab			21.70	19.82	24.92	1.26
Rajasthan			27.83	25.77	38.47	1.49
Tamil Nadu			22.30	16.35	38.64	2.36
Uttar Pradesh	.		19.79	18.18	30.68	1.69
West Bengal			26.87	26.38	28.41	1.08

*Includes Mizo district, now constituted as Union Territory of Mizoram.

TABLE 7.—INDICES OF GROWTH OF POPULATION, INDIA, 1901-71
(1901 = 100)

<i>Year</i>				<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1901 .. ..			..	100	100	100
1911 .. ..			..	106	106	100
1921 .. ..			..	105	105	109
1931 .. ..			..	117	116	129
1941 .. ..			..	134	129	171
1951 .. ..			..	151	141	242
1961 .. ..			..	184	170	305
1971 .. ..			..	230	206	422

TABLE 5.—DECENNIAL GROWTH RATES OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION IN STATES, 1901-61 (Percentages)

States	1901-11		1911-21		1921-31		1931-41		1941-51		1951-61	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Andhra Pradesh	11.9	17.7	-0.3	1.0	11.8	23.2	9.8	36.1	8.8	47.9	15.6	15.8
Assam	16.6	22.9	18.6	35.4	19.2	30.8	19.8	30.5	17.7	66.6	30.2	122.5
Bihar	3.9	-1.5	-1.0	8.2	11.0	22.0	11.2	33.7	8.7	38.1	17.7	49.0
Gujarat	12.1	-7.1	2.6	8.7	12.4	14.9	14.3	38.4	13.3	35.8	29.4	20.1
Jammu & Kashmir	2.2	69.2	6.5	-0.3	9.1	18.2	8.8	21.6	9.2	18.3	6.1	29.8
Kerala	11.5	15.4	7.5	29.8	20.6	34.6	14.5	30.5	19.2	52.7	22.4	39.9
Madhya Pradesh	17.8	-10.9	-2.3	10.9	10.5	23.0	10.5	32.8	6.0	33.2	21.0	47.7
Madras	7.4	15.6	2.5	8.9	5.7	23.4	9.6	22.3	8.0	41.8	8.4	22.6
Maharashtra	12.7	1.0	-6.8	18.7	14.8	15.5	8.5	27.1	7.7	62.4	24.5	21.3
Mysore	4.8	-4.6	-3.5	17.7	7.4	21.7	8.9	23.0	10.7	61.7	22.6	18.3
Orissa	10.5	8.0	-2.0	2.3	11.9	12.7	9.7	30.0	5.2	44.0	17.0	86.8
Punjab	-9.1	-16.5	4.0	7.2	7.4	27.1	15.1	36.1	-4.5	27.0	24.1	33.3
Rajasthan	8.7	-4.8	-7.3	-0.0	13.6	17.2	17.3	22.4	10.8	39.6	29.7	11.0
Uttar Pradesh	0.0	-9.0	-3.5	0.6	5.9	12.8	12.0	26.0	10.3	22.9	17.7	9.9
West Bengal	5.2	13.7	-4.4	7.2	7.0	15.0	15.6	63.7	8.3	32.5	31.8	36.0

Section II: Density, Sex Ratio, Age Structure and Marital Status

TABLE 10—DENSITY OF POPULATION
INDIA 1901-61

(persons per sq. mile)			
Year	Total	Rural	Urban
1901	194	175	1 739
1911	205	186	1 745
1921	205	184	1,889
1931	227	202	2,250
1941	259	226	2,970
1951	294	246	4,200
1961	358	297	5 310
1971	NA	NA	NA

TABLE 11—SEX RATIO INDIA
1901-71

(females per 1000 males)			
Year	Total	Rural	Urban
1901	972	979	910
1911	964	975	872
1921	955	970	846
1931	950	966	838
1941	945	965	831
1951	946	965	860
1961	941	963	845
1971	930	948	858

TABLE 12—SEX RATIO IN STATES, 1971

(Females per 1000 males)			
States	Total	Rural	Urban
INDIA	930	948	858
Andhra Pradesh	977	983	949
Assam	897	913	749
Bihar	954	971	807
Gujarat	934	951	893
Haryana	867	870	853
Himachal Pradesh	958	976	745
Jammu & Kashmir	878	882	960
Kerala	1 016	1 070	997
Madhya Pradesh	941	956	868
Maharashtra	970	985	870
Mysore	957	971	917
Nagaland	871	928	472
Orissa	988	1 007	845
Punjab	865	863	856
Rajasthan	911	919	875
Tamil Nadu	978	990	951
Uttar Pradesh	879	889	821
West Bengal	891	942	751

TABLE 8.—RURAL AND URBAN PROPORTIONS, INDIA, 1901-71

Year				Total	Rural	Urban
1901	..	..	..	100	89	11
1914	..	..	..	100	90	10
1921	..	..	..	100	89	11
1931	..	..	..	100	88	12
1941	..	..	..	100	86	14
1951	..	..	..	100	83	17
1961	..	..	..	100	82*	18*
1971	..	..	..	100	80	20

*Not adjusted for definitional change of "urban" between 1951 and 1961.

TABLE 9.—RURAL AND URBAN PROPORTIONS IN STATES, 1971

States				Total	Rural	Urban
INDIA	..	..	..	100.00	80.09	19.91
Andhra Pradesh	..	..	..	100.00	80.69	19.31
Assam	..	..	..	100.00	91.11	8.89
Bihar	..	..	..	100.00	90.01	9.99
Gujarat	..	..	..	100.00	71.91	28.09
Haryana	..	..	..	100.00	82.35	17.65
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	100.00	91.06	6.94
Jammu & Kashmir	..	..	..	100.00	81.39	18.61
Kerala	..	..	..	100.00	83.75	16.25
Madhya Pradesh	..	..	..	100.00	83.72	16.28
Maharashtra	..	..	..	100.00	68.84	31.16
Mysore	..	..	..	100.00	75.70	24.30
Nagaland	..	..	..	100.00	90.09	9.91
Orissa	..	..	..	100.00	91.61	8.39
Punjab	..	..	..	100.00	76.24	23.76
Rajasthan	..	..	..	100.00	82.38	17.62
Tamil Nadu	..	..	..	100.00	69.73	30.27
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	..	100.00	85.97	14.03
West Bengal	..	..	..	100.00	75.24	24.76

TABLE 14—AGE STRUCTURE (BROAD AGE GROUPS), INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
PERSONS			
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
0-14	41.02	41.47	39.00
15-34	32.04	31.31	35.36
35-59	21.26	21.34	20.89
60+	5.63	5.83	4.74
A. N. S. *	0.05	0.05	0.01
MALES			
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
0-14	40.92	41.77	37.28
15-34	31.54	30.50	35.97
35-59	22.04	21.98	22.31
60+	5.46	5.71	4.42
A. N. S. *	0.04	0.04	0.02
FEMALES			
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
0-14	41.14	41.17	41.02
15-34	32.58	32.16	34.63
35-59	20.44	20.67	19.21
60+	5.81	5.95	5.11
A. N. S. *	0.03	0.05	0.03

*Age not stated

TABLE 13.—AGE STRUCTURE, INDIA, 1961

[illegible]

TABLE 16 --RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS IN EACH BROAD AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961
(Percentages)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
PERSONS			
Total	100	82	18
0-14	100	83	17
15-34	100	80	20
35-59	100	82	18
60+	100	85	15
A N S.*	100	83	12
MALES			
Total	100	81	19
0-14	100	83	17
15-34	100	78	22
35-59	100	81	19
60+	100	85	15
A N S.*	100	83	12
FEMALES			
Total	100	83	17
0-14	100	83	17
15-34	100	82	18
35-49	100	84	16
60+	100	85	15
A. N S.*	100	83	12

*Age not stated.

TABLE 15.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS IN EACH AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All ages	100	82.0	18.0
0-9	100	83.4	16.6
10-14	100	81.7	18.3
15-19	100	80.2	19.8
20-24	100	79.2	20.8
25-29	100	80.6	19.4
30-34	100	80.7	19.3
35-39	100	81.2	18.8
40-44	100	81.6	18.4
45-49	100	83.1	16.9
50-54	100	83.2	16.8
55-59	100	84.1	15.9
60-64	100	84.3	15.7
65-69	100	85.0	15.0
70+	100	85.5	14.5
Age not stated	100	88.2	11.8

TABLE 18.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTION IN EACH MARITAL STATUS CATEGORY INDIA 1961

Marital Status	(Percentages)					
	Persons		Males		Females	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Never Married	80.7	19.3	80.3	19.7	81.4	18.6
Married	82.9	17.1	81.6	18.4	84.1	15.0
Widowed	84.8	15.2	85.8	14.2	84.5	15.5
Divorced or Separated	87.3	12.7	89.2	10.8	85.7	14.3
Total	82.0	18.0	81.1	18.9	83.0	17.0

45-49	Males	3.3	3.4	87.3	89.7	8.7	6.4	0.7	0.4
	Females	0.4	0.9	70.0	68.5	28.7	29.7	0.9	0.9
50-54	Males	3.2	3.2	83.2	86.2	12.9	10.1	0.7	0.4
	Females	0.4	0.9	53.5	51.8	45.3	46.5	0.8	0.7
55-59	Males	3.0	2.8	80.4	83.4	16.0	13.2	0.6	0.5
	Females	0.4	0.8	49.1	45.7	49.8	52.8	0.7	0.6
60-64	Males	3.0	2.6	74.2	77.3	22.3	19.6	0.6	0.4
	Females	0.3	0.8	29.7	27.9	69.4	70.9	0.5	0.4
65-69	Males	2.9	2.7	70.2	73.2	26.3	23.6	0.6	0.5
	Females	0.3	0.8	27.5	25.2	71.6	73.5	0.5	0.4
70+	Males	2.9	2.6	60.1	62.4	36.4	34.5	0.6	0.4
	Females	0.3	0.9	15.1	13.1	84.2	85.7	0.4	0.3

TABLE 17.—MARTIAL STATUS BY AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961

Age Group	Sex	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1	2								
All ages	Persons	41.1	51.3	45.0	42.4	7.4	6.0	0.5	0.3
	Males	52.5	55.2	43.2	41.7	3.0	2.8	0.4	0.2
	Females	41.5	46.4	46.9	43.2	11.0	9.9	0.5	0.4
0-9	Males	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Females	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-14	Males	92.1	98.0	7.7	1.9	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
	Females	77.6	93.0	22.0	6.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
15-19	Males	72.9	88.5	26.5	11.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
	Females	25.0	47.6	73.7	51.6	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4
20-24	Males	39.3	58.9	59.0	40.2	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.3
	Females	4.5	12.7	93.2	85.5	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.7
25-29	Males	15.5	26.3	81.7	72.2	1.8	1.1	1.0	0.4
	Females	1.5	3.9	94.5	92.8	3.0	2.5	1.0	0.8
30-34	Males	7.0	10.6	89.2	87.1	2.8	1.8	1.0	0.4
	Females	0.8	2.0	91.5	91.2	6.6	5.8	1.0	0.9
35-39	Males	4.4	5.3	90.8	91.6	4.0	2.6	0.8	0.4
	Females	0.6	1.4	87.0	87.2	11.3	10.4	1.0	1.0
40-44	Males	3.9	4.1	88.9	91.0	6.3	4.4	0.8	0.4
	Females	0.5	1.2	77.8	77.2	20.7	20.6	1.0	1.0

TABLE 21.—PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED FEMALES IN EACH AGE GROUP INDIA 1961

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All ages	42.3	41.5	46.4
0-9*	100.0	100.0	100.0
10-14	80.5	77.6	93.0
15-19	29.2	25.0	47.6
20-24	6.0	4.5	12.7
25-29	1.9	1.5	3.9
30-34	1.0	0.8	2.0
35-39	0.7	0.6	1.4
40-44	0.6	0.5	1.2
45-49	0.5	0.4	0.9
50-54	0.5	0.4	0.9
55-59	0.4	0.3	0.9
60-64	0.4	0.3	0.8
65-69	0.4	0.3	0.8
70+	0.4	0.3	0.8
Age not stated	71.1	71.2	70.7

*At the 1961 census, marital status for this age group was ignored

TABLE 22.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTION OF MARRIED FEMALES IN EACH AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All ages	100	84.1	15.9
10-14	100	93.5	6.5
15-19	100	86.3	13.7
20-24	100	82.9	17.1
25-29	100	82.5	17.5
30-34	100	82.6	17.4
35-39	100	83.2	16.8
40-44	100	83.9	16.1
45-49	100	84.9	15.1
50-54	100	84.7	15.3
55-59	100	86.1	13.9
60-64	100	85.4	14.6
65-69	100	86.5	13.5
70+	100	87.1	12.9
Age not stated	100	88.4	11.6

TABLE 19.—DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIED FEMALES BY AGE GROUPS, INDIA, 1961
(Percentages)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All ages	100.00	100.00	100.00
10-14	4.49	5.00	1.83
15-19	12.20	12.52	10.58
20-24	17.83	17.56	19.26
25-29	17.26	16.91	19.10
30-34	13.79	13.54	15.11
35-39	10.48	10.36	11.11
40-44	8.50	8.47	8.65
45-49	5.89	5.95	5.60
50-54	4.31	4.34	4.16
55-59	2.25	2.30	1.97
60-64	1.65	1.68	1.52
65-69	0.66	0.67	0.56
70+	0.67	0.69	0.54
Age not stated	0.02	0.01	0.01

TABLE 20.—PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED FEMALES IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS, INDIA, 1961

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All ages	46.28	46.91	43.20
0-9*	Nil	Nil	Nil
10-14	19.22	22.00	6.79
15-19	69.57	73.65	51.60
20-24	91.76	93.17	85.52
25-29	94.17	94.46	92.83
30-34	91.43	91.48	91.19
35-39	87.01	86.99	87.17
40-44	77.66	77.75	77.17
45-49	69.73	69.96	68.45
50-54	53.25	53.52	51.77
55-59	48.60	49.11	45.67
60-64	29.40	29.67	27.89
65-69	27.18	27.53	25.20
70+	14.80	15.08	13.11
Age not stated	20.06	20.16	19.37

*At the 1961 census, marital status for this age group was ignored.

TABLE 24 — LITERACY RATES IN INDIA AND THE STATES, 1961
(Percent of literates to total population)

States	Total Population				Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All India	24.0	34.5	13.0		19.0	29.1	8.5	47.0	57.5	34.5
Andhra Pradesh	21.2	30.2	12.0		16.8	25.1	8.4	41.8	53.6	29.3
Assam	27.4	37.3	16.0		24.9	34.8	13.8	57.2	64.1	47.0
Bihar	18.4	29.8	6.9		16.1	27.2	5.2	43.2	55.5	28.0
Gujarat	30.5	41.1	19.1		24.1	34.5	13.2	48.8	59.6	36.7
Jammu & Kashmir	11.0	17.0	4.3		7.6	12.9	1.6	28.3	36.8	18.1
Kerala	46.8	55.0	38.9		45.4	53.5	37.5	54.9	62.8	47.0
Madhya Pradesh	17.1	27.0	6.7		12.7	21.8	3.4	43.5	56.5	28.4
Madras	31.4	44.5	18.2		24.7	37.8	11.6	49.9	62.7	36.7
Maharashtra	29.8	42.0	16.8		21.5	33.5	9.3	51.1	61.6	37.9
Mysore	25.4	36.1	14.2		20.0	30.5	9.2	44.2	55.2	32.2
Orissa	21.7	34.7	8.6		20.1	33.0	7.5	44.2	57.5	27.6
Punjab	24.2	33.0	14.1		18.4	26.9	8.7	47.4	56.4	36.4
Rajasthan	15.2	23.7	5.8		10.9	18.3	2.7	37.6	50.9	22.5
Uttar Pradesh	17.6	27.3	7.0		14.3	23.7	4.2	40.1	50.0	27.8
West Bengal	29.3	40.1	17.0		21.6	32.9	9.7	52.9	59.6	43.3

Section III: Literacy and Educational Level

TABLE 23.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 PERSONS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

Educational Levels	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total Population	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Illiterates	760	810	530	655	709	425	870	915	655
Total Literates	240	190	470	345	291	575	130	85	345
1. Literate (without educational levels)	151	133	235	214	200	272	85	63	192
2. Primary or Junior Basic	70	50	162	100	79	194	39	21	124
3. Matriculation or Higher Secondary	19	7	54	31	12	81	6	1	23
4. Technical Diploma not equal to degree			1			2			N
5. Non-Technical Diploma not equal to degree			3			4			1
6. University Degree or Post-Graduate Degree other than Technical Degree			11			18			4
7. Engineering			1			1			N
8. Medicine			1			1			N
9. Agriculture			N			N			N
10. Veterinary and Dairying			N			N			N
11. Technology			N			N			N
12. Teaching			1			1			1
13. Others			1			1			N

N indicates negligible

TABLE 26—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL INDIA 1961
(Percentages)

<i>Educational Levels</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total Population	100.0	82.0	18.0
Illiterates	100.0	87.4	12.6
Total Literates	100.0	64.9	35.1
1. Literates (without educational levels)	100.0	72.0	28.0
2. Primary or Junior Basic	100.0	58.6	41.4
3. Matriculation and above	100.0	30.5	69.5

TABLE 27—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL,
INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
PERSONS			
Total workers	100	86.0	14.0
Illiterates	100	91.9	8.1
Literates	100	70.2	29.8
Literates without educational level	100	78.0	22.0
Primary or Junior Basic	100	66.1	33.9
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	100	40.1	59.9
MALES			
Total workers	100	82.6	17.4
Illiterates	100	90.3	9.7
Total literates	100	69.8	30.2
Literates without educational level	100	77.5	22.5
Primary or Junior Basic	100	65.7	34.3
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	100	40.6	59.4
FEMALES			
Total workers	100	93.3	6.7
Illiterates	100	94.2	5.8
Total literates	100	76.2	23.8
Literates without educational level	100	84.6	15.4
Primary or Junior Basic	100	73.5	26.5
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	100	31.4	68.6

TABLE 25 - LITERACY RATES IN INDIA AND THE STATES, 1971

(Percent of literates to total population)

States	Total Population						Rural						Urban					
	Persons			Males			Persons			Males			Persons			Males		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
INDIA	29.5	39.5	18.7	23.7	33.8	13.2	23.7	33.8	13.2	52.5	61.3	42.3	52.5	61.3	42.3	52.5	61.3	42.3
Andhra Pradesh	24.6	33.2	15.8	19.2	27.3	10.9	19.2	27.3	10.9	47.1	57.3	36.3	47.1	57.3	36.3	47.1	57.3	36.3
Assam	28.7	37.2	19.3	25.8	34.3	16.5	25.8	34.3	16.5	58.7	64.5	50.9	58.7	64.5	50.9	58.7	64.5	50.9
Bihar	19.9	30.6	8.7	17.2	27.6	6.4	17.2	27.6	6.4	44.9	55.4	31.9	44.9	55.4	31.9	44.9	55.4	31.9
Gujarat	35.8	46.1	24.8	28.3	38.9	17.2	28.3	38.9	17.2	54.9	64.0	44.8	54.9	64.0	44.8	54.9	64.0	44.8
Haryana	26.9	37.3	14.9	21.7	32.6	9.2	21.7	32.6	9.2	51.0	59.1	41.5	51.0	59.1	41.5	51.0	59.1	41.5
Himachal Pradesh	32.0	43.2	20.2	29.8	41.2	18.2	29.8	41.2	18.2	60.5	66.8	52.2	60.5	66.8	52.2	60.5	66.8	52.2
Jammu & Kashmir	18.6	26.8	9.3	14.1	22.2	5.0	14.1	22.2	5.0	38.2	46.6	28.4	38.2	46.6	28.4	38.2	46.6	28.4
Kerala	60.4	66.6	54.3	59.3	65.6	53.1	59.3	65.6	53.1	66.3	72.0	60.6	66.3	72.0	60.6	66.3	72.0	60.6
Madhya Pradesh	22.1	32.7	10.9	16.8	27.1	6.1	16.8	27.1	6.1	49.6	60.5	37.0	49.6	60.5	37.0	49.6	60.5	37.0
Maharashtra	39.2	51.0	26.4	30.6	43.2	17.8	30.6	43.2	17.8	58.1	66.9	47.3	58.1	66.9	47.3	58.1	66.9	47.3
Myore	31.5	41.6	21.0	25.1	35.4	14.5	25.1	35.4	14.5	51.4	60.4	41.6	51.4	60.4	41.6	51.4	60.4	41.6
Nagaland	27.4	35.0	18.7	23.7	30.5	16.4	23.7	30.5	16.4	60.8	66.1	49.5	60.8	66.1	49.5	60.8	66.1	49.5
Orissa	26.2	38.3	13.9	24.1	36.1	12.1	24.1	36.1	12.1	49.0	59.9	36.1	49.0	59.9	36.1	49.0	59.9	36.1
Punjab	33.7	40.4	25.9	27.8	34.7	19.9	27.8	34.7	19.9	52.5	58.6	45.4	52.5	58.6	45.4	52.5	58.6	45.4
Rajasthan	19.1	28.7	8.5	13.9	22.9	4.0	13.9	22.9	4.0	43.3	53.5	29.7	43.3	53.5	29.7	43.3	53.5	29.7
Tamil Nadu	39.5	51.8	25.9	32.1	45.1	19.0	32.1	45.1	19.0	56.4	66.8	45.4	56.4	66.8	45.4	56.4	66.8	45.4
Uttar Pradesh	21.8	31.5	10.7	18.1	28.0	7.0	18.1	28.0	7.0	44.1	52.1	34.4	44.1	52.1	34.4	44.1	52.1	34.4
West Bengal	33.2	42.8	22.4	25.7	35.8	15.0	25.7	35.8	15.0	55.9	62.0	47.8	55.9	62.0	47.8	55.9	62.0	47.8

Section IV Religion, Caste and Mother Tongue

TABLE 30.—DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY RELIGION INDIA 1961

(Percentages)

Religions	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hindus	83.5	85.0	76.4	83.5	85.0	76.8	83.6	85.1	76.0
Muslims	10.7	9.5	16.1	10.7	9.5	15.9	10.6	9.5	16.3
Christians	2.4	2.3	3.2	2.4	2.2	3.0	2.5	2.3	3.4
Sikhs	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8
Buddhists	7	7	8	7	7	8	7	7	8
Jains	6	3	14	5	3	14	5	3	14
Other religions and persuasions	3	4	2	3	4	2	4	4	2
Religion not stated	N	N	1	N	N	N	N	N	1

NOTE: N indicates negligible.

TABLE 28.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS IN THE AGE-GROUP 5-14
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total Population	100	82.3	17.7
Illiterates	100	88.5	11.5
Total literates	100	68.1	31.9
Literates without educational levels	100	71.8	28.2
Primary or Junior Basic	100	58.2	41.8
Matriculation and above	100	33.2	66.8

TABLE 29.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 5-14
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	Age-Group 5-14					
	Persons		Males		Females	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Illiterates	75.6	46.1	66.6	40.6	85.4	52.2
Total literates	24.4	53.9	33.4	59.4	14.6	47.8
(i) Literates (without educational level)	18.7	34.5	25.4	37.4	11.4	31.2
(ii) Primary or Junior Basic	5.7	19.2	8.0	21.8	3.2	16.4

NOTE (1): The total literates are split into (i) literates without educational level and (ii) primary or junior basic.

NOTE (2): The total will come to 100.00 only if following figures for Matriculation and above are also taken into account.

Persons		Males		Females	
<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
N	.2	N	.2	N	.2

TABLE 28.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS IN THE AGE-GROUP 5-14
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total Population	100	82.3	17.7
Illiterates	100	88.5	11.5
Total literates	100	68.1	31.9
Literates without educational levels	100	71.8	28.2
Primary or Junior Basic	100	58.2	41.8
Matriculation and above	100	33.2	66.8

TABLE 29.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 5-14
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	<i>Age-Group 5-14</i>					
	<i>Persons</i>		<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Illiterates	75.6	46.1	66.6	40.6	85.4	52.2
Total literates	24.4	53.9	33.4	59.4	14.6	47.8
(i) Literates (without educational level)	18.7	34.5	25.4	37.4	11.4	31.2
(ii) Primary or Junior Basic	5.7	19.2	8.0	21.8	3.2	16.4

NOTE (1): The total literates are split into (i) literates without educational level and (ii) primary or junior basic.

NOTE (2): The total will come to 100.00 only if following figures for Matriculation and above are also taken into account.

<i>Persons</i>		<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
N	.2	N	.2	N	.2

TABLE 33—RURAL URBAN PROPORTIONS OF SCHEDULED CASTES
AND SCHEDULED TRIBES IN DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS GROUPS,
INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)			
<i>Religions</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
SCHEDULED CASTES			
Total	100.0	89.3	10.7
Hindu	100.0	89.3	10.7
Sikhs	100.0	91.7	8.3
SCHEDULED TRIBES			
Total	100.0	97.4	2.6
Hindu	100.0	97.6	2.4
Christians	100.0	94.4	5.6
Others	100.0	96.8	3.2

TABLE 34—PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BELONGING TO SCHEDULED
CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES BY RELIGION, INDIA, 1961

		<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
		SCHEDULED CASTES	
Persons	Hindu	98.5	98.9
	Sikh	1.5	1.1
	Total	100.0	100.0
Males	Hindu	98.4	98.8
	Sikh	1.6	1.2
	Total	100.0	100.0
Females	Hindu	98.6	98.9
	Sikh	1.4	1.1
	Total	100.0	100.0
		SCHEDULED TRIBES	
Persons	Hindu	89.6	81.9
	Christians	5.4	11.9
	Others	5.0	6.2
	Total	100.0	100.0
Males	Hindu	89.7	82.3
	Christians	5.3	11.7
	Others	5.0	6.0
	Total	100.0	100.0
Females	Hindu	89.5	81.4
	Christians	5.4	12.1
	Others	5.1	6.5
	Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 31.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF PERSONS BY RELIGION, INDIA, 1961

Religions	(Percentages)					
	Persons		Males		Females	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Hindus	84	16	83	17	85	15
Sikhs	82	18	81	19	82	18
Buddhists	80	20	79	21	81	19
Christians	76	24	76	24	77	23
Muslims	73	27	72	28	74	26
Jains	46	54	45	55	47	53
Other religions and persuasions	89	11	89	11	89	11
Religion not stated	95	5	94	6	96	4

TABLE 32.—PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BELONGING TO SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES, INDIA, 1961

	Total					
	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Scheduled Castes	14.7	14.6	14.8	10.0	10.0	16.0
Scheduled Tribes	6.9	6.7	7.0	8.2	8.0	8.2
				8.7	8.5	8.9
				1.0	1.0	1.0

TABLE 37—DISTRIBUTION OF 1 000 SCHEDULED TRIBE MALES AND FEMALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	Males		Females	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Illiterates	866	696	971	865
Total literates	134	304	29	135
Literates without educational levels	99	166	23	78
Primary or Junior Basic	34	117	6	49
Matriculation or above	1	21	N	8

TABLE 38—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTION OF PERSONS BELONGING TO SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
SCHEDULED CASTES			
Total	100.0	89.3	10.7
Illiterates	100.0	90.7	9.3
Total literates	100.0	77.4	22.6
Literates without educational levels	100.0	79.9	20.1
Primary or Junior Basic	100.0	71.8	28.2
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	100.0	61.1	38.9
SCHEDULED TRIBES			
Total	100.0	97.4	2.6
Illiterates	100.0	97.8	2.2
Total literates	100.0	93.2	6.8
Literates without educational levels	100.0	94.9	5.1
Primary or Junior Basic	100.0	89.7	10.3
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	100.0	63.0	37.0

TABLE 35.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATES AND ILLITERATES AMONG MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES, INDIA, 1961

<i>Literates/ Illiterates</i>		Scheduled Castes			Scheduled Tribes		
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Literates	Persons	10.27	8.89	21.78	8.54	8.17	22.41
	Males	16.95	15.05	32.16	13.84	13.38	30.43
	Females	3.28	2.52	10.02	3.17	2.91	13.45
Illiterates	Persons	89.73	91.11	78.22	91.46	91.83	77.59
	Males	83.05	84.95	67.84	86.16	86.62	69.57
	Females	96.72	97.48	89.98	96.83	97.09	86.55

*Excludes the population of N.E.F.A.

TABLE 36.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 SCHEDULED CASTE MALES AND FEMALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, INDIA, 1961

<i>Educational levels</i>	Males		Females	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Illiterates	849	678	975	900
Total literates	151	322	25	100
Literates without educational levels	113	206	20	67
Primary or Junior Basic	35	98	5	31
Matriculation or above	3	18	N	2

TABLE 40 —RURAL URBAN PROPORTIONS OF PERSONS BY LANGUAGE (SCHEDULE VIII) INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

Languages	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Persons		Total	Males		Total	Females	
		Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
Total population of India	100	82.0	18.0	100	81.1	18.9	100	83.0	17.0
1 Assamese	100	95.4	4.6	100	94.8	5.2	100	96.0	4.0
2 Bengali	100	79.4	20.6	100	78.3	21.7	100	80.5	19.5
3 Gujarati	100	72.4	27.6	100	71.8	28.2	100	73.0	27.0
4 Hindi	100	84.7	15.3	100	83.3	16.7	100	86.1	13.9
5 Kannada	100	83.8	16.2	100	83.2	16.8	100	84.3	15.7
6 Kashmiri	100	78.5	21.5	100	78.2	21.8	100	78.9	21.1
7 Malayalam	100	83.6	16.4	100	82.7	17.3	100	84.5	15.5
8 Marathi	100	78.7	21.3	100	77.3	22.7	100	80.1	19.9
9 Oriya	100	93.7	6.3	100	92.4	7.6	100	94.9	5.1
10 Punjabi	100	79.0	21.0	100	78.4	21.6	100	79.6	20.4
11 Santhali	100	21.9	78.1	100	23.8	76.2	100	11.7	88.3
12 Tamil	100	73.6	26.4	100	73.1	26.9	100	74.0	26.0
13 Telugu	100	82.3	17.7	100	82.0	18.0	100	82.6	17.4
14 Urdu	100	59.7	40.3	100	58.5	41.5	100	61.0	39.0
15 Total of 14 languages	100	80.6	19.4	100	79.7	20.3	100	81.7	18.3

TABLE 39.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 PERSONS BY THE LANGUAGES SPECIFIED IN SCHEDULE VIII OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, 1961

Languages	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total Population	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Assamese	15	18	4	16	19	4	15	17	4
2. Bengali	77	75	89	78	75	89	76	74	83
3. Gujarati	46	41	71	46	41	69	46	41	73
4. Hindi	304	314	259	310	319	273	297	308	243
5. Kannada	40	41	36	39	40	35	40	41	37
6. Kashmiri	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	4	5
7. Malayalam	39	39	35	38	38	34	40	41	37
8. Marathi	76	73	90	75	71	90	77	74	90
9. Oriya	36	41	13	35	40	14	37	42	11
10. Punjabi	25	24	29	26	25	30	24	23	28
11. Sanskrit	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
12. Tamil	70	62	102	68	61	97	71	64	109
13. Telugu	86	86	85	84	85	80	88	87	90
14. Urdu	53	38	119	53	39	117	53	39	121

Note: The totals do not add up to 1,000 because the languages other than those specified in Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India have not been taken into account.

TABLE 42.—RURAL URBAN CONTRASTS SELECTED INDICES INDIA, 1961

<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1 Persons per 100 occupied census houses	557	553	573
2 Persons per 100 households	516	520	496
3 Number of females per 1 000 males	941	963	845
4 Per cent of rural and urban population to total population	100	82	18
5 Density per sq. mile	358	297	5 305
6. <i>Houseless Population</i>			
Houseless persons per 10 000 population	288	269	374
Houseless males per 10 000 male population	352	314	515
Houseless females per 10 000 female population	220	223	208
7 <i>Institutional Population</i>			
Institutional persons per 10 000 population	474	161	1 906
Institutional males per 10 000 male population	754	244	2,941
Institutional females per 10 000 female population	177	75	680
8 <i>Percentage of Scheduled Castes to Total Population</i>			
Persons	14.67	15.98	8.72
Males	14.56	15.96	8.54
Females	14.80	16.00	8.93
9 <i>Percentage of Scheduled Tribes to Total Population</i>			
Persons	6.86	8.15	0.98
Males	6.70	8.04	0.95
Females	7.03	8.26	1.01
10 <i>Literacy Rates (exclusive of population 0-4 age)</i>			
Persons	28.29	22.44	54.43
Males	40.38	34.25	65.99
Females	15.31	10.11	40.46

*Excludes Goa, Daman and Diu and N.E.F.A.

TABLE 41.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 PERSONS SPEAKING SCHEDULE VIII LANGUAGES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, INDIA, 1961

Languages	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total Population	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
1. Assamese	18	21	4	18	22	5	17	20	4
2. Bengali	88	87	94	89	88	95	88	87	94
3. Gujarati	53	48	76	53	48	73	53	48	78
4. Hindi	349	366	278	355	371	291	343	361	259
5. Kannada	46	47	38	46	47	37	46	48	39
6. Kashmiri	5	5	6	5	5	6	5	5	6
7. Malayalam	45	46	38	43	45	37	46	48	39
8. Marathi	87	85	96	86	83	96	89	87	96
9. Oriya	41	48	13	40	47	15	42	48	12
10. Punjabi	29	28	31	30	29	32	27	27	30
11. Sanskrit	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
12. Tamil	80	73	109	78	71	103	82	74	117
13. Telugu	98	101	90	96	99	85	101	102	96
14. Urdu	61	45	127	61	45	125	61	45	130

TABLE 44.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS INTO NINE INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, INDIA 1961

Industrial Categories	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
I As Cultivator	52.8	60.3	6.6	51.4	61.1	5.5	55.7	58.9	12.1
II As Agricultural Labourer	16.7	18.9	3.5	13.4	15.8	2.2	23.9	24.8	10.6
III In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting & Plantations, Orchards and Allied activities	2.8	2.8	2.5	3.1	3.2	2.5	2.0	1.9	2.8
IV As Household Industry	6.4	6.1	7.9	5.7	5.7	5.8	7.9	7.0	19.8
V In Manufacturing other than Household Industry	4.2	1.5	21.0	5.6	1.9	22.9	1.3	0.7	9.8
VI In Construction	1.1	0.7	3.6	1.4	0.9	3.9	0.4	0.3	2.5
VII In Trade and Commerce	4.0	2.1	16.3	5.3	2.6	18.0	1.4	1.0	6.8
VIII In Transport, Storage and Communications	1.6	0.5	8.0	2.3	0.8	9.3	0.1	N	1.2
IX In Other Services	10.4	7.1	30.6	11.8	8.0	29.9	7.3	5.4	34.4
Total Workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N Negligible									

TABLE 45 (contd)

States	Industrial Categories									IX
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		
PERSONS										
Maharashtra	573	289	22	40	12	8	14	5	37	
	53	50	20	58	278	27	158	93	263	
Mysore	625	185	32	59	12	10	17	3	57	
	126	59	26	102	174	57	131	46	279	
Orissa	597	178	16	69	4	2	14	3	117	
	73	23	30	73	140	28	113	79	431	
Punjab	666	90	9	79	21	13	25	8	89	
	73	15	11	61	187	52	192	78	331	
Rajasthan	806	44	18	60	6	6	15	3	42	
	132	13	18	83	125	60	159	91	319	
Uttar Pradesh	705	125	5	58	11	5	20	6	65	
	51	12	11	97	176	32	189	86	346	
West Bengal	514	202	64	49	39	7	34	10	81	
	9	9	10	23	332	31	197	103	286	
Delhi	467	57	30	37	142	26	27	20	194	
	7	2	7	17	208	44	192	63	460	
(contd.)										

(contd)

TABLE 45.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS INTO NINE INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN STATES, 1961

States	Industrial Categories								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
	PERSONS								
Andhra Pradesh	44.5	31.3	3.1	9.4	1.2	.8	2.8	.4	6.5
	8.1	8.7	2.7	11.9	12.4	4.0	14.9	7.7	29.6
Assam	69.0	3.9	10.7	5.5	1.2	.7	2.4	.6	6.0
	3.0	.3	1.5	5.4	14.1	2.0	20.5	13.3	39.9
Bihar	57.1	24.4	3.2	5.3	1.1	.4	1.9	.7	5.9
	8.5	3.7	6.6	7.7	17.4	3.1	13.7	8.6	30.7
Gujarat	63.8	17.7	1.2	6.6	1.4	.8	2.2	.7	5.6
	8.1	2.1	1.2	6.4	27.5	2.4	16.3	7.1	28.9
Jammu & Kashmir	83.9	1.3	1.7	6.1	.6	.4	.9	.3	4.8
	13.9	.6	1.3	7.7	14.0	2.2	11.9	5.4	43.0
Kerala	23.4	19.4	9.1	9.0	8.1	1.2	4.5	2.0	23.3
	4.9	4.0	5.7	6.3	18.0	1.8	13.3	7.6	38.4
Madhya Pradesh	68.4	18.2	2.7	4.4	.3	.5	1.0	.3	4.2
	8.7	2.3	4.8	10.2	17.7	5.6	15.1	7.4	28.2
Madras	51.0	21.8	2.5	6.8	2.2	.8	2.5	.4	12.2
	6.8	5.0	4.1	12.3	18.6	3.3	15.4	6.5	28.0

(contd.)

TABLE 45 (contd.)

States	Industrial Categories								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
MALES									
Maharashtra	557 41	245 27	34 20	51 42	18 305	12 29	22 173	8 105	53 258
Mysore	640 114	148 41	36 29	61 76	15 192	13 58	21 149	4 57	62 284
Orissa	635 74	160 21	17 28	53 59	4 154	3 43	14 119	4 88	110 414
Punjab	631 67	101 15	10 12	79 48	25 196	16 54	31 205	10 83	97 320
Rajasthan	778 97	42 9	20 17	65 65	8 133	8 65	23 179	5 108	51 327
Uttar Pradesh	717 50	102 11	6 11	56 81	13 187	6 34	23 198	7 92	70 336
West Bengal	502 9	196 9	57 10	34 19	40 343	8 32	36 206	12 108	85 264
Delhi	397 5	54 1	30 7	40 14	148 217	30 43	34 203	28 66	239 444

(contd.)

TABLE 45 (cont'd)

States	Industrial Categories									
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
MALES										
Andhra Pradesh	47.1	24.6	4.3	10.4	1.6	3.1	3.2	.7	7.0	
	7.4	5.2	3.1	8.9	13.6	4.3	17.0	10.1	30.4	
Assam	69.8	5.0	9.2	.7	1.6	1.0	3.5	1.0	8.2	
	3.0	.3	1.3	2.0	13.9	2.2	22.1	14.7	40.5	
Bihar	57.8	21.5	4.0	4.5	1.4	.5	2.4	1.0	6.9	
	7.2	2.6	6.6	6.3	19.1	3.3	14.8	9.9	30.2	
Gujarat	63.1	15.2	1.4	6.5	2.0	.9	3.2	1.0	6.7	
	6.3	1.5	1.2	4.6	30.4	2.4	13.1	8.2	27.3	
Jammu & Kashmir	83.6	1.7	1.7	3.4	.7	.5	1.3	.4	6.7	
	10.9	.6	1.3	6.8	15.0	2.4	12.9	5.4	44.7	
Kerala	26.1	13.0	10.6	5.0	8.4	1.6	6.1	2.7	24.5	
	4.6	2.5	7.0	3.4	19.0	2.3	15.8	9.4	36.0	
Madhya Pradesh	67.4	13.9	3.7	5.0	.4	.7	1.5	.4	5.0	
	6.9	1.4	4.7	7.5	20.2	6.0	17.1	8.9	27.3	
Madras	53.1	17.8	3.1	6.2	3.0	1.1	2.9	.7	12.1	
	6.4	3.4	3.7	8.6	21.3	3.7	17.9	8.1	26.9	

(cont'd)

TABLE 45 (contd)

States	Industrial Categories								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
	F E M A L E S								
Maharashtra	592	345	7	27	3	4	5	N	17
	115	166	20	144	139	21	77	29	289
Mysore	599	249	26	55	7	5	12	N	47
	171	126	19	200	108	50	64	2	260
Orissa	513	219	15	104	4	N	13	N	132
	71	34	37	143	66	14	83	33	519
Punjab	795	47	4	80	8	3	2	N	61
	157	19	7	231	62	19	22	7	476
Rajasthan	852	48	14	52	3	2	2	N	27
	319	36	20	183	81	30	48	4	279
Uttar Pradesh	669	199	4	68	3	N	8	N	49
	62	19	11	294	52	8	86	6	462
West Bengal	416	237	101	127	34	2	18	1	64
	8	15	10	79	162	14	64	2.5	623
Delhi	648	63	30	29	125	16	9	1	79
	29	7	18	57	70	49	41	18	711

N Negligible

TABLE 45 (contd.)

States	Industrial Categories								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
FEMALES									
Andhra Pradesh	40.9	40.8	1.3	-8.0	.6	.4	2.3	N	5.7
	10.0	19.0	1.5	21.1	8.8	3.1	8.6	.6	27.3
Assam	67.5	1.7	13.5	14.3	.4	.1	.4	N	2.1
	3.7	.2	2.7	33.7	15.5	.2	7.3	2.0	34.7
Bihar	55.9	29.9	1.6	7.0	.5	.1	1.0	N	4.0
	16.8	10.3	6.8	15.9	7.0	1.9	7.0	.8	33.5
Gujarat	64.9	21.9	1.0	6.8	.5	.4	.6	N	3.9
	18.7	5.6	1.4	17.1	10.2	2.1	5.8	1.0	38.1
Jammu & Kashmir	84.6	.4	1.7	12.1	.4	.1	.1	N	.6
	45.2	1.0	1.8	17.5	3.4	.1	1.5	4.5	25.0
Kerala	17.4	29.4	5.7	17.9	7.4	.2	1.1	.4	20.5
	5.8	9.4	.9	16.7	14.2	.4	4.6	1.2	46.8
Madhya Pradesh	69.7	21.1	1.4	3.7	.2	.2	.5	N	3.2
	16.3	6.2	5.2	21.2	7.1	4.3	7.0	.9	31.8
Madras	47.3	28.6	1.5	7.7	.9	.4	1.3	N	12.3
	8.3	10.8	5.5	26.0	8.6	2.0	6.0	.7	32.1

(contd.)

TABLE 48 — DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN THREE BROAD INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES 1971
(Percentages)

States	Total Workers				Total Workers			
	Cultivators		Other workers		Cultivators		Other workers	
	Agric. labourers	tural labourers	Agric. labourers	Other workers	Agric. labourers	tural labourers	Agric. labourers	Other workers
PERSONS								
	43.4	26.3	30.3		46.2	21.3	32.5	
MALES								
	32.2	37.9	29.9		37.4	27.7	34.9	
Andhra Pradesh	32.2	37.9	29.9		37.4	27.7	34.9	
Assam	36.8	9.6	33.6		59.7	10.0	30.3	
Bihar	43.3	38.9	17.8		47.6	33.3	19.1	
Gujarat	43.1	22.5	34.4		44.9	17.6	37.5	
Haryana	62.6	2.7	34.7		49.6	1.6	48.8	
Himachal Pradesh	70.6	4.2	25.2		63.6	4.2	32.2	
Jammu & Kashmir	64.8	3.0	32.2		64.5	3.1	32.4	
Kerala	17.8	30.7	51.5		21.8	25.1	49.1	
Madhya Pradesh	52.8	26.6	20.6		56.7	19.3	24.0	
Maharashtra	35.6	29.3	35.1		36.2	21.5	42.3	
Mysore	40.0	26.7	33.3		44.2	21.1	34.7	
Nagaland	77.6	1.4	21.0		64.2	1.6	34.2	
Orissa	49.2	28.2	22.6		52.7	25.3	22.0	
Punjab	42.6	20.1	37.3		43.3	20.3	36.4	
Rajasthan	64.9	9.3	25.8		65.1	7.6	27.3	
Tamil Nadu	31.3	30.4	38.3		34.5	24.2	41.3	
Uttar Pradesh	57.8	20.0	22.2		59.1	17.2	23.7	
West Bengal	32.0	26.4	41.6		33.6	25.0	41.4	
ALL INDIA	43.4	26.3	30.3		46.2	21.3	32.5	
FEMALES								
	19.4	50.5	19.9		19.4	50.5	19.9	
Andhra Pradesh	19.4	50.5	19.9		19.4	50.5	19.9	
Assam	28.7	5.4	65.9		28.7	5.4	65.9	
Bihar	17.3	73.6	9.1		17.3	73.6	9.1	
Gujarat	33.8	48.3	17.9		33.8	48.3	17.9	
Haryana	37.0	26.0	37.0		37.0	26.0	37.0	
Himachal Pradesh	89.1	4.1	6.8		89.1	4.1	6.8	
Jammu & Kashmir	68.9	1.9	29.2		68.9	1.9	29.2	
Kerala	4.6	49.1	46.3		4.6	49.1	46.3	
Madhya Pradesh	41.1	48.7	10.2		41.1	48.7	10.2	
Maharashtra	33.8	51.5	14.7		33.8	51.5	14.7	
Mysore	23.4	49.0	27.6		23.4	49.0	27.6	
Nagaland	96.5	1.2	2.3		96.5	1.2	2.3	
Orissa	20.0	52.6	27.4		20.0	52.6	27.4	
Punjab	5.6	10.9	83.5		5.6	10.9	83.5	
Rajasthan	63.9	20.8	15.3		63.9	20.8	15.3	
Tamil Nadu	18.9	54.4	26.7		18.9	54.4	26.7	
Uttar Pradesh	46.2	44.5	9.3		46.2	44.5	9.3	
West Bengal	12.1	44.5	43.4		12.1	44.5	43.4	

(contd.)

TABLE 46.—AGE SPECIFIC WORKING FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, INDIA, 1961
(Per cent of workers to total population in each age group)

Age Group	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Total	43.0	45.1	33.5	57.1	58.2	52.4	28.0	31.4	11.1
0-14	8.0	9.2	2.6	9.4	10.6	3.5	6.6	7.6	1.6
15-34	66.2	70.3	49.5	88.1	91.1	76.9	43.6	49.8	15.8
35-59	73.8	76.0	63.6	96.7	97.5	93.3	47.6	49.6	22.9
60+	49.5	52.0	35.2	76.6	79.9	58.4	22.4	24.3	11.4
A. N. S.	21.8	22.3	17.4	29.7	30.0	27.4	12.6	13.5	6.2

TABLE 47.—WORKERS IN THREE BROAD INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, INDIA, 1971

	Total			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
I Cultivators	78.1	76.5	1.6	68.9	67.4	1.5	9.2	9.1	.1
II Agricultural labourers	47.5	45.6	1.9	31.7	30.4	1.3	15.8	15.2	.6
III Other workers	54.7	26.3	28.4	48.4	22.6	25.8	8.3	3.7	2.6
Total	180.3	148.4	31.9	149.0	120.4	28.6	31.3	28.0	3.3

(In millions)

TABLE 48 (contd.)

States	Urban Workers				PERSONS	Urban Workers				PERSONS	Urban Workers				PERSONS
	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers	Other workers		Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers	Other workers		Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers	Other workers	
ALL INDIA	51	60	88.9			52	47	90.1			42	17.5	78.3		
Andhra Pradesh	56	106	83.8			59	71	87.0			41	28.3	67.6		
Assam	56	14	93.0			52	14	93.4			11.9	1.1	87.0		
Bihar	83	106	81.1			86	94	82.0			46	26.5	68.9		
Gujarat	54	46	90.0			55	34	91.1			45	15.6	79.9		
Haryana	67	38	89.5			68	36	89.6			54	7.0	87.6		
Himachal Pradesh	49	11	94.0			42	11	94.7			11.6	1.6	86.8		
Jammu & Kashmir	74	20	90.6			72	21	90.7			10.3	1.3	88.4		
Kerala	40	100	86.0			46	81	87.3			17	18.0	80.3		
Madhya Pradesh	66	57	87.7			67	39	89.4			66	18.9	74.5		
Marathashtra	35	57	90.8			34	39	92.7			37	19.1	77.0		
Mysore	80	87	83.3			84	66	85.0			54	20.5	74.1		
Nagaland	25	21	95.4			18	21	96.1			13.2	2.7	84.1		
Orissa	77	68	85.5			82	60	85.8			35	13.9	82.6		
Punjab	56	45	89.9			59	46	89.5			07	1.5	97.8		
Rajasthan	104	32	86.4			100	28	87.2			14.8	8.4	76.8		
Tamil Nadu	50	82	86.8			52	64	88.4			34	18.9	77.7		
Uttar Pradesh	55	42	90.3			56	40	90.4			42	7.7	88.1		
West Bengal	15	30	95.5			16	29	95.5			0.9	4.3	94.8		

TABLE 48 (contd.)

States	Rural Workers			Rural Workers			Rural Workers		
	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Other workers
	PERSONS			MALES			FEMALES		
ALL INDIA	51.6	30.7	17.7	56.0	25.2	18.8	32.6	54.4	13.0
Andhra Pradesh	36.6	42.5	20.9	43.7	31.9	24.4	20.8	66.2	13.0
Assam	62.3	10.4	27.3	65.6	10.9	23.5	29.8	5.6	64.6
Bihar	46.8	41.8	11.4	51.8	35.9	12.3	18.0	75.9	6.1
Gujarat	55.4	28.4	16.2	59.0	22.8	18.2	38.8	54.0	7.2
Haryana	58.1	18.9	23.0	58.6	18.4	23.0	45.7	31.2	23.1
Himachal Pradesh	75.2	4.4	20.4	68.9	4.5	26.6	90.7	4.2	5.1
Jammu & Kashmir	76.2	3.2	20.6	76.1	3.3	20.6	76.8	2.0	21.2
Kerala	20.2	34.4	45.4	25.1	28.3	46.6	5.0	53.5	41.5
Madhya Pradesh	59.4	29.5	11.1	65.2	22.0	12.8	43.3	50.6	6.1
Maharashtra	47.5	38.2	14.3	51.8	30.0	18.2	38.0	56.1	5.9
Mysore	48.4	31.4	20.2	54.3	25.2	20.5	26.6	54.2	19.2
Nagaland	85.7	1.5	12.8	76.0	1.8	22.2	97.3	1.2	1.5
Orissa	52.9	30.2	16.9	56.7	27.1	16.2	21.3	55.7	23.0
Punjab	53.6	24.8	21.6	54.2	24.8	21.0	11.2	21.7	67.1
Rajasthan	74.2	10.4	15.4	75.2	8.5	16.3	68.2	21.9	9.9
Tamil Nadu	40.3	38.1	21.6	45.6	30.9	23.5	22.3	62.2	15.5
Uttar Pradesh	64.9	22.2	12.9	67.3	19.2	13.5	45.2	46.9	7.9
West Bengal	43.1	35.0	21.9	45.6	33.2	21.2	14.9	54.5	30.6

(contd.)

TABLE 50—SEX RATIO OF WORKERS IN DIFFERENT
INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, INDIA, 1961

(Females per 1000 males)

<i>Population groups</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total population	941	963	845
Total workers	461	520	179
<i>Industrial Categories of Workers</i>			
I Cultivators	499	501	389
II Agricultural labourers	820	818	856
III Mining and Quarrying	297	312	201
IV Household Industry	633	638	613
V Manufacturing other than household industry	110	193	77
VI Construction	134	150	116
VII Trade and Commerce	120	195	68
VIII Transport, Storage and Communications	22	19	23
IX Other services	283	353	205
Non-workers	1,581	1,581	1,578

TABLE 49 — OVER-ALL WORKING-FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES IN STATES, 1971
(Workers as percent of total population)

States	PERSONS			MALES			FEMALES		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
ALL INDIA	32.9	33.8	29.3	52.5	53.5	48.8	11.9	13.1	6.6
Andhra Pradesh	41.4	43.9	30.7	58.2	60.2	49.9	24.2	27.4	10.5
Assam	28.3	28.1	30.4	48.9	48.7	50.2	5.5	5.6	4.0
Bihar	31.0	31.3	28.3	52.2	52.7	47.5	8.9	9.3	4.5
Gujarat	31.4	33.0	27.6	26.5	27.1	25.0	10.3	12.1	5.5
Haryana	26.4	26.5	26.3	47.3	47.5	46.2	2.4	2.3	3.0
Himachal Pradesh	37.0	37.2	34.2	52.4	52.3	54.5	20.8	21.7	7.1
Jammu & Kashmir	29.8	30.5	26.5	52.5	53.7	47.1	3.9	4.2	2.5
Kerala	29.1	29.5	27.0	45.0	45.3	43.5	13.5	14.1	10.4
Madhya Pradesh	36.7	38.4	28.1	53.7	55.3	46.2	18.6	20.8	7.3
Maharashtra	36.5	38.6	31.8	52.1	52.6	51.1	19.7	24.4	8.3
Mysore	34.7	36.4	29.6	54.4	56.4	8.4	14.2	15.8	9.2
Nagaland	50.8	50.8	50.4	55.6	53.5	69.9	45.2	47.9	9.1
Orissa	31.2	31.3	30.4	55.3	55.8	50.6	6.8	6.8	6.7
Punjab	28.9	29.1	28.1	52.8	53.7	49.9	1.2	0.7	2.7
Rajasthan	31.2	32.4	25.8	52.1	53.6	45.1	8.3	9.3	3.9
Tamil Nadu	35.8	38.2	30.2	56.0	58.6	50.3	15.1	17.6	9.1
Uttar Pradesh	30.9	31.5	27.7	52.2	53.0	47.9	6.7	7.3	3.1
West Bengal	27.9	27.2	30.1	48.8	48.5	49.8	4.4	4.6	3.9

TABLE 52.—DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN EACH INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY BY LITERACY LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

Industrial categories	(Percentages)									
	Total		Illiterates		Literate (without educational level's)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation or above	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
I	100	100	78.0	64.5	16.1	21.2	5.4	11.5	5	2.8
II	100	100	90.8	86.2	7.3	10.1	1.8	3.6	1	1
III	100	100	80.9	67.4	14.1	20.5	4.0	7.2	1.0	4.9
IV	100	100	75.9	59.4	18.1	28.3	5.8	11.5	2	8
V	100	100	50.4	36.4	32.9	32.2	13.8	22.0	2.9	9.4
VI	100	100	64.0	52.6	23.2	24.5	9.0	11.9	3.8	7.9
VII	100	100	40.0	26.4	39.9	35.7	17.7	24.8	2.4	13.1
VIII	100	100	42.3	35.5	31.7	25.9	17.6	19.0	8.4	19.6
IX	100	100	63.0	38.8	17.9	22.5	11.5	16.5	7.6	22.2

Industrial categories

- I Agricultural Cultivators.
 II Agricultural Labourers
 III In Mining Quarrying Livestock Forestry
 Fish ng. Hunting and Plantations Orchards
 and Allied activities
 IV At Household Industry

- V In Manufacturing other than Household Industry
 VI In Construction
 VII In Trade and Commerce
 VIII In Transport Storage and Communications.
 IX. In other Services

TABLE 31.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES BY AGE GROUPS, INDIA, 1961

Industrial Categories	Rural-Urban	AGE GROUPS										Total *	
		0-14		15-34		35-49		50+					
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
		(Percentages)											
I As Cultivators	Rural Urban	98.8 1.2	99.0 1.0	98.3 1.7	98.6 1.4	97.9 2.1	98.2 1.8	97.3 2.7	98.0 2.0	98.1 1.9	98.5 1.5		
II As Agricultural Laborers	Rural Urban	98.1 1.9	98.0 2.0	97.2 2.8	97.1 2.9	96.8 3.2	96.6 3.4	96.4 3.6	96.6 3.3	97.1 2.9	97.0 3.0		
III In Mining, quarrying, forestry, fishing, livestock etc.	Rural Urban	93.5 4.5	96.4 3.6	84.7 15.3	90.2 9.8	82.4 17.6	82.4 11.6	84.5 15.5	88.4 11.6	86.2 13.8	90.7 9.3		
IV At Household Industry	Rural Urban	92.0 8.0	86.6 13.2	81.1 18.9	82.1 17.9	80.6 19.4	82.8 17.2	82.4 17.6	83.4 16.6	82.4 17.6	82.9 17.1		
V In Manufacturing other than household industry	Rural Urban	37.6 62.4	62.8 37.2	28.3 71.7	51.8 48.2	37.4 62.6	44.2 55.8	33.6 66.4	50.6 49.4	28.4 71.6	49.9 50.1		
VI In Construction	Rural Urban	61.4 38.6	63.6 34.4	53.6 46.4	60.8 39.2	50.4 49.6	52.6 47.4	50.0 50.0	52.3 47.7	52.4 47.6	58.7 41.3		
VII In Trade and Commerce	Rural Urban	50.2 49.8	76.4 23.6	40.4 59.6	68.5 31.5	40.4 59.6	64.8 35.2	44.6 55.4	63.8 36.2	41.0 59.0	66.6 33.4		
VIII In Transport, Storage and Communications	Rural Urban	42.0 58.0	44.7 55.3	29.4 70.6	26.4 73.6	29.5 70.5	23.2 76.8	35.8 64.2	21.9 78.1	29.7 70.3	25.8 74.2		
IX In other Services	Rural Urban	71.3 28.7	80.8 19.2	55.3 44.7	68.9 31.1	54.2 45.8	65.8 34.2	62.1 37.9	67.7 32.3	55.8 44.2	68.4 31.6		

TABLE 54 —PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS* BY INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS, INDIA, 1961

Industrial Divisions	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
All Divisions	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
0 Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	11.1	17.3	2.3	10.5	17.5	2.2	13.4	16.7	3.5
1 Mining & Quarrying	1.6	2.1	9	1.6	2.3	9	1.4	1.5	1.1
2 & 3 Manufacturing	31.1	30.8	31.7	28.8	27.0	30.8	40.0	40.9	37.3
4 Construction	3.6	3.2	4.1	4.0	3.9	4.2	2.0	1.6	3.2
5 Electricity, Gas, Water & Sanitary Services	1.1	7	1.6	1.0	7	1.5	1.3	9	2.4
6 Trade & Commerce	13.3	9.9	18.1	15.1	11.3	19.5	6.8	6.0	8.8
7 Transport, Storage & Communications	5.2	2.7	8.9	6.5	3.6	10.0	5	2	1.6
8 Services	29.0	28.2	30.1	29.0	29.0	29.0	28.8	26.0	37.2
9 Activities not adequately described	4.0	5.1	2.3	3.5	4.7	1.9	5.8	6.2	4.9

*Excluding workers engaged in cultivation.

TABLE 53.—RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION BY ECONOMIC CATEGORY BY SEX, 1961
(Percentages)

Industrial categories	Total		Females		Males (in kind, seasonal level)		Primary of farm class		Manufacturing of 11 Post Secondary	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Total workers	56.0	14.0	91.9	8.1	94.0	22.0	46.1	33.9	40.1	59.9
I	98.3	1.7	94.6	1.4	99.7	2.3	96.3	3.7	91.6	8.4
II	97.1	2.9	99.2	2.8	96.0	4.0	94.4	5.6	69.7	9.3
III	87.3	12.7	19.1	10.9	82.5	17.5	91.2	29.8	64.8	35.2
IV	97.9	2.1	15.9	14.1	75.2	24.8	90.9	29.1	33.8	46.2
V	30.5	69.5	37.8	62.2	31.0	19.0	21.4	71.4	13.4	86.6
VI	23.1	46.9	18.0	42.0	31.9	48.1	46.3	53.7	35.6	64.4
VII	43.7	56.3	54.1	45.9	46.5	53.5	35.6	64.4	17.2	82.8
VIII	29.6	70.4	33.4	66.6	34.0	66.0	24.0	72.0	14.3	85.7
IX	51.7	48.3	49.8	50.2	53.1	46.9	49.7	50.3	43.5	56.5

Industrial categories:

- I. Agricultural C. Services.
 II. Agricultural Laborers.
 III. In Manufacturing, Lumbering, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Fur trapping, Oil and Gas and Allied activities.
 IV. All Non-farm Industry.

- V. In Manufacturing of 11 Post Secondary Industry.
 VI. In Construction.
 VII. In Trade and Commerce.
 VIII. In Transport, Storage and Communications.
 IX. In other services.

TABLE 56—DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS* BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION AND THEIR RURAL-URBAN BREAKDOWN, 1961

<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No of workers</i>	<i>Percentage of workers in each division to total in all areas</i>	<i>Percentage of workers in each division to total workers in rural areas</i>	<i>Percentage of workers in each division to total workers in urban areas</i>
All Divisions		57,532,684	100.00	58.67	41.33
0	Professional, technical and related workers	3,235,586	5.62	2.93	2.69
1	Administrative, executive and managerial workers	1,811,449	3.15	1.33	1.82
2	Clerical and related workers	3,197,015	5.56	1.28	4.28
3	Sales workers	6,875,613	11.95	5.64	6.31
4	Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	6,447,367	11.20	10.14	1.06
5	Miners, quarrymen and related workers	671,535	1.17	0.95	0.22
6	Workers in transport and communications occupations	1,676,052	3.26	1.19	2.07
7-8	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers, not elsewhere classified	27,407,330	47.64	29.78	17.86
9	Service, sports and recreation workers	5,586,908	9.71	4.90	4.81
10	Workers not classifiable by occupation	423,829	0.74	0.53	0.21

*Excluding workers engaged in cultivation

TABLE 55.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS* IN INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS, INDIA, 1961

Industrial Divisions	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
All Divisions	100	58.7	41.3	100	54.4	45.6	100	74.5	25.5
0. Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	100	91.5	8.5	100	90.7	9.3	100	93.3	6.7
1. Mining and Quarrying	100	77.1	22.9	100	76.3	23.7	100	80.4	19.6
2 & 3. Manufacturing	100	58.0	42.0	100	51.2	48.8	100	76.2	23.8
4. Construction	100	53.2	46.8	100	52.4	47.6	100	58.8	41.2
5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	100	39.0	61.0	100	34.1	65.9	100	53.5	46.5
6. Trade and Commerce	100	43.8	56.2	100	41.0	59.0	100	66.6	33.4
7. Transport, Storage and Communications	100	29.6	70.4	100	29.7	70.3	100	25.8	74.2
8. Services	100	57.1	42.9	100	54.4	45.6	100	67.1	32.9
9. Activities not adequately described	100	75.8	24.2	100	74.5	25.5	100	78.6	21.4

*Excluding workers engaged in cultivation.

TABLE 58—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS IN NON HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES BY CLASS OF WORKERS
IN DIFFERENT DIVISIONS, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

Industrial Divisions	Total Male Female	Total		Employers		Employees		Single worker		Family worker	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
All Divisions	T	52.4	47.6	36.7	63.3	42.0	58.0	64.4	35.6	71.0	29.0
	M	49.0	51.0	35.2	64.8	40.3	59.7	61.2	38.8	65.6	34.4
	F	69.2	30.8	64.4	35.6	54.8	45.2	76.0	24.0	84.4	15.6
0 Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	T	89.4	10.6	83.8	16.2	89.9	10.1	87.8	12.2	92.2	7.8
	M	88.5	11.5	83.3	16.7	88.6	11.4	87.2	12.8	91.9	8.1
	F	92.4	7.6	87.5	12.5	93.4	6.6	90.2	9.8	93.0	7.0
1 Mining and Quarrying	T	77.0	23.0	73.2	26.8	75.4	24.6	82.8	17.2	89.7	10.3
	M	76.3	23.7	72.6	27.4	74.6	25.4	83.6	16.4	89.8	10.2
	F	80.4	19.6	81.2	18.8	79.5	20.5	80.2	19.8	89.6	10.4
2 & 3 Manufacturing	T	30.6	69.4	20.1	79.9	26.2	73.8	43.1	56.9	46.4	53.6
	M	28.4	71.6	19.4	80.6	24.5	75.5	40.8	59.2	41.0	59.0
	F	49.9	50.1	41.6	58.4	42.9	57.1	59.2	40.8	68.9	31.1
4 Construction	T	53.2	46.8	38.4	61.6	55.0	45.0	50.6	49.4	76.0	24.0
	M	52.4	47.6	39.0	61.0	54.4	45.6	50.1	49.9	72.4	27.6
	F	58.8	41.2	26.4	73.6	59.0	41.0	55.1	44.9	86.6	13.4

(contd.)

TABLE 47 -PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY CLASS OF WORKERS, INDIA, 1961

Industrial Divisions	Employer		Employee		Single worker		Family worker	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Divisions	Total	51	14	53.3	34.7	47.9	6.9	14.0
	Rural	3.7	1.3	43.8	43.3	52.6	9.2	17.1
	Urban	6.5	1.6	62.5	53.9	37.4	4.6	7.1
0 Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	Total	33	13	43.9	35.4	23.0	17.4	23.0
	Rural	31	12	44.0	34.9	22.5	18.0	23.1
	Urban	4.8	2.2	43.6	39.4	30.0	12.2	21.4
1. Mining and Quarrying	Total	2.0	.7	33.1	33.4	17.0	3.5	7.3
	Rural	1.9	.7	79.3	73.7	17.0	4.1	8.6
	Urban	2.4	.7	36.8	78.0	17.2	1.5	4.1
2 & 3 Manufacturing	Total	5.0	1.4	69.5	61.3	27.5	4.5	9.8
	Rural	3.4	1.1	59.9	52.7	30.2	6.5	13.6
	Urban	5.6	1.6	73.3	69.9	17.4	3.7	6.1
4. Construction	Total	3.6	1.1	51.8	53.4	39.4	2.4	6.1
	Rural	2.7	.5	53.7	53.6	37.0	3.3	8.9
	Urban	4.6	2.0	49.7	53.1	44.3	1.4	2.0
5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	Total	.5	.4	83.5	51.8	35.8	3.5	10.0
	Rural	.6	.5	66.7	32.4	50.0	9.5	17.1
	Urban	4	.2	95.3	78.5	19.3	.4	2.0
6. Trade and Commerce	Total	15.0	5.2	24.9	6.1	60.5	14.3	28.2
	Rural	12.2	5.1	13.5	3.1	56.5	17.8	33.3
	Urban	16.9	5.5	32.9	12.0	36.4	11.8	17.9
7. Transport, Storage and Communications	Total	2.6	1.3	71.3	57.0	38.3	1.5	3.4
	Rural	2.5	.8	70.7	52.2	42.8	2.7	4.2
	Urban	2.7	1.5	71.6	58.7	36.7	1.0	3.1
8. Services	Total	2.3	.8	29.1	33.1	52.0	4.4	12.1
	Rural	1.7	.8	47.6	21.8	62.1	6.0	15.3
	Urban	2.9	.9	72.9	62.3	31.3	2.4	5.5
9. Activities not adequately described	Total	.6	.2	19.3	9.1	25.9	2.1	4.8
	Rural	.4	.2	16.6	8.9	25.4	2.4	5.5
	Urban	1.1	.2	27.2	9.7	70.4	1.3	2.3

TABLE 29.—DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS PRINCIPALLY WORKING AS CULTIVATORS, AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OR AT HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, ENGAGED IN SECONDARY WORK, INDIA, 1961

Principal work	Area	Total workers (100)	Total workers having no secondary work	SECONDARY WORK			As agricultural labour
				Total workers engaged in secondary work	At household Industry	As cultivator	
Cultivator	Total	99,621,175 (100)	84,531,797 (84.85)	15,089,378 (15.15)	3,927,756 (3.94)	—	11,161,622 (11.21)
	Rural	97,888,822 (100)	82,973,303 (84.76)	14,915,519 (15.24)	3,891,034 (3.98)	—	11,024,485 (11.26)
	Urban	1,732,353 (100)	1,558,494 (89.96)	173,859 (10.04)	36,722 (2.12)	—	137,137 (7.92)
Agricultural Labour	Total	31,521,641 (100)	27,049,964 (85.81)	4,471,677 (14.19)	402,816 (1.28)	4,068,861 (12.91)	—
	Rural	30,602,861* (100)	26,191,042 (85.58)	4,411,819 (14.42)	397,124 (1.30)	4,014,695 (13.12)	—
	Urban	918,780 (100)	858,922 (93.49)	59,858 (6.51)	5,692 (0.62)	54,166 (5.89)	—
Household Industry	Total	12,031,087 (100)	10,159,171 (84.44)	1,871,916 (15.56)	—	1,386,394 (11.52)	485,522 (4.04)
	Rural	9,912,670 (100)	8,139,249 (81.86)	1,803,421 (18.14)	—	1,330,216 (13.38)	473,205 (4.76)
	Urban	2,083,417 (100)	2,019,922 (96.72)	68,495 (3.28)	—	56,178 (2.69)	12,317 (0.59)

Note: Figures in brackets denote percentages.

Note: Figures in brackets denote percentages

TABLE 58 (contd)

Industrial Divisions	Total Male Female	Total		Employers		Employees		Single worker		Family worker	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	T	39.0	61.0	46.2	53.8	27.6	72.4	75.2 ^a	24.8	92.0	8.0
	M	34.2	65.8	39.6	60.4	26.6	73.4	75.6	24.4	93.1	6.9
	F	53.5	46.5	72.0	28.0	32.2	67.8	74.8	25.2	91.0	9.0
6. Trade and Commerce	T	43.8	56.2	34.6	65.4	22.5	77.5	52.4	47.6	56.4	43.6
	M	41.0	59.0	33.3	66.7	22.2	77.8	50.6	49.4	51.0	49.0
	F	66.6	33.4	65.0	35.0	34.2	65.8	64.4	35.6	78.8	21.2
7. Transport, Storage and Communications	T	29.6	70.4	23.4	71.6	29.4	70.6	29.2	70.8	52.3	47.7
	M	29.7	70.3	28.6	71.4	29.4	70.6	29.2	70.8	53.4	46.6
	F	25.8	74.2	15.4	84.6	23.6	76.4	28.9	71.1	31.8	68.2
8. Services	T	57.1	42.9	43.8	56.2	43.5	56.5	73.6	26.4	79.4	20.6
	M	54.4	45.6	41.8	58.2	43.8	56.2	71.0	29.0	75.4	24.6
	F	67.1	32.9	64.7	35.3	41.6	58.4	80.2	19.8	84.9	15.1
9. Activities not adequately described	T	75.8	24.2	56.4	43.6	66.4	33.6	77.4	22.6	86.8	13.2
	M	74.5	25.5	51.4	48.6	64.2	35.8	77.0	23.0	84.0	16.0
	F	78.6	21.4	83.8	14.2	77.0	23.0	78.2	21.8	89.6	10.4

TABLE 61.—PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN DIVISIONS 0, 1 AND 2 & 3 BY HOUSEHOLD AND NON HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, INDIA 1961

Industrial Divisions	Total workers		Workers at household industry		Workers in non household and trade business etc		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
0 Agriculture Livestock, Fishing and Hunting	Total	100.0	100.0	31.4	36.9	68.6	63.1
	Rural	100.0	100.0	33.0	37.4	67.0	62.6
	Urban	100.0	100.0	15.5	28.8	84.5	71.2
1 Mining and Quarrying	Total	100.0	100.0	3	3	99.7	99.7
	Rural	100.0	100.0	4	3	99.6	99.7
	Urban	100.0	100.0	1	5	99.9	99.5
2 & 3 Manufacturing	Total	100.0	100.0	44.9	83.7	55.1	16.3
	Rural	100.0	100.0	69.4	89.3	30.6	10.7
	Urban	100.0	100.0	19.2	65.8	80.8	34.2

TABLE 60—PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS WITH SECONDARY WORK ACCORDING TO TYPE OF WORK, INDIA, 1961

Principal work	Total Rural Urban	SECONDARY WORK									
		Total		At household industry		As cultivator		As agricultural labourers			
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Cultivators	Total	100	62.2	37.8	16.8	9.2	—	—	45.4	28.6	
	Rural	100	62.1	37.9	16.8	9.3	—	—	45.3	28.6	
	Urban	100	66.3	33.7	15.1	6.0	—	—	51.2	27.7	
Agricultural labourers	Total	100	60.2	39.8	5.0	4.0	55.2	35.8	—	—	
	Rural	100	60.2	39.8	5.0	4.0	55.2	35.8	—	—	
	Urban	100	58.2	41.8	4.4	5.1	53.8	36.7	—	—	
Household industry	Total	100	69.2	30.8	—	—	53.8	20.2	15.4	10.6	
	Rural	100	69.1	30.9	—	—	53.5	20.3	15.6	10.6	
	Urban	100	72.6	27.4	—	—	63.3	18.7	9.3	8.7	

TABLE 65 — DISTRIBUTION OF 10 000 NON WORKERS ACCORDING TO BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY, INDIA, 1961.

	Age-Groups									
	All ages		0-14		15-34		35-39		60+	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Non workers	R 10,000	10,000	8,937	5,545	648	2,355	133	1,439	275	656
Full time students	U 10,000	10,000	7,553	4,542	1,744	3,280	313	1,666	386	509
Household duties	R 2,663	583	2,258	545	405	37	N	1	N	N
	U 4,289	1,622	3,117	1,353	1,169	268	2	1	N	N
Intentis, dependents and disabled	R 40	4,206	21	491	10	2,162	5	1,280	4	272
	U 34	4,790	11	491	10	2,801	7	1,483	4	243
Retired, rentier or independent means	R 7,101	5,139	6,645	4,504	154	143	79	138	216	350
Beggars, vagrants etc	U 4,891	3,476	4,401	2,922	212	181	102	145	173	226
Inmates of panel, mental and charitable institutions	R 62	39	2	1	3	2	16	10	41	26
Persons seeking employment for the first time	U 287	58	4	1	10	4	92	21	181	32
Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work	R 54	25	6	2	15	6	21	9	12	8
	U 75	29	7	2	21	9	31	11	16	7
	R 10	3	2	1	4	1	3	1	1	N
	U 55	8	4	2	30	3	17	2	4	1
	R 47	4	2	1	42	3	3	N	N	N
	U 220	12	7	N	196	11	16	1	1	N
	R 23	1	1	N	15	1	6	N	1	N
	U 149	5	2	N	94	3	46	2	7	N

NOTE (1) Total of different age-groups will be equal to all-ages figures, if figures for age not stated are also taken into account
 (2) N indicates negligible.

TABLE 62.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS IN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Industrial Divisions</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All Divisions.	Persons	100 0	82.6	17.4
	Males	100 0	82.4	17.6
	Females	100 0	83 0	17 0
0. Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	Persons	100 0	95 2	4 8
	Males	100 0	95.4	4.6
	Females	100 0	94 8	5 2
1. Mining and Quarrying	Persons	100.0	86.2	13 8
	Males	100 0	90 2	9 8
	Females	100 0	68.7	31.3
2 & 3. Manufacturing	Persons	100 0	78 0	22 0
	Males	100 0	79 1	20.9
	Females	100 0	81.2	18 8

TABLE 63.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS IN NON-HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, TRADE, BUSINESS, PROFESSION OR SERVICE, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Industrial Divisions</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All Divisions	Persons	100 0	52.4	47.6
	Males	100 0	49 0	51.0
	Females	100 0	69 2	30.8
0. Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	Persons	100.0	89.4	10 6
	Males	100 0	88.6	11.4
	Females	100 0	92.4	7.6
1. Mining and Quarrying	Persons	100 0	77.0	23.0
	Males	100.0	76.3	23.7
	Females	100 0	80 4	19 6
2 & 3. Manufacturing	Persons	100.0	30.6	69.4
	Males	100 0	28.4	71.6
	Females	100.0	49.9	50.1

TABLE 64.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF WORKERS IN NON-HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, TRADE, BUSINESS, PROFESSION OR SERVICE WHO ARE ALSO ENGAGED IN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Principal/Secondary Work</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Principal work—All Divisions	Persons	100 0	52.3	47.7
	Males	100 0	49.0	51.0
	Females	100 0	69 2	30 8
Secondary work—All Divisions	Persons	100 0	81 9	18.1
	Males	100 0	81.4	18.6
	Females	100.0	83.8	16.2

TABLE 69 —PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES INTO BROAD INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, INDIA, 1961

<i>Industrial Categories</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total workers	Persons	100 00	100 00	100 00
	Males	100 00	100 00	100 00
	Females	100 00	100 00	100 00
1 As cultivator	Persons	37 74	40 78	5 72
	Males	39 50	43 30	5 29
	Females	34 57	36 42	6 97
2 As agricultural labourer	Persons	34 46	36 80	9 73
	Males	29 34	32 37	6 55
	Females	42 79	44 43	17 68
3 In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activities	Persons	2 88	2 72	4 61
	Males	3 45	3 31	4 67
	Females	1 87	1 70	4 41
4 At household industry	Persons	6 56	6 42	8 03
	Males	6 80	6 75	7 20
	Females	6 13	5 84	10 42
5 In manufacturing other than household industry	Persons	2 75	1 30	18 00
	Males	3 55	1 58	21 32
	Females	1 31	0 82	8 50
6 In construction	Persons	1 08	0 69	5 27
	Males	1 40	0 92	5 77
	Females	0 50	0 28	3 82
7 In trade and commerce	Persons	1 14	0 72	5 63
	Males	1 34	0 82	5 97
	Females	0 79	0 53	4 67
8 In transport, storage and communications	Persons	0 96	0 40	6 83
	Males	1 43	0 62	8 83
	Females	0 10	0 03	1 11
9 Other services	Persons	12 43	10 17	36 18
	Males	12 69	10 33	34 00
	Females	11 94	9 90	42 42

TABLE 66.—DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS 15 YEARS AND ABOVE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

Educational levels	Persons		Males		Females	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Illiterates	23.5	21.3	21.6	21.2	40.3	23.3
Literates (without educational levels)	22.9	24.8	24.5	25.8	8.7	12.4
Primary or Junior Basic	26.9	29.2	28.7	30.1	10.1	18.5
Matriculation and above	26.7	24.7	25.2	22.9	40.9	45.8

TABLE 67.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS 15 YEARS AND ABOVE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

Educational levels	Total	Rural	Urban
Total unemployed 15+	100	41.9	58.1
Illiterates	100	44.2	55.8
Total Literates	100	41.8	58.2
Literates (without educational levels)	100	39.9	60.1
Primary or Junior Basic	100	39.9	60.1
Matriculation and above	100	43.9	56.1

TABLE 68.—UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR MATRICULATES AND ABOVE, INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

Persons/Males/Females	Total	Rural	Urban
METHOD I			
Persons	7.6	9.2	6.9
Males	7.0	8.1	6.3
Females	20.8	35.5	14.0
METHOD II			
Persons	7.1	8.4	6.5
Males	6.6	7.5	6.1
Females	17.2	26.2	12.3

Method I: Unemployment Rate = $\frac{U 15 M}{WM} \times 100$

Method II: Unemployment Rate = $\frac{U 15 M}{WM + U 15 M} \times 100$

where, U 15 M = Unemployed of the age of 15 and above who are matriculates and above.
WM = Workers matriculates and above.

TABLE 71 —PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AND NON WORKERS
AMONG MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES, INDIA, 1961

	Total	Rural	Urban
Scheduled Castes			
A <i>Workers</i>			
Persons	47.07	48.13	38.18
Males	59.24	59.99	53.27
Females	34.35	35.86	21.08
B <i>Non Workers</i>			
Persons	52.93	51.87	61.82
Males	40.76	40.01	46.73
Females	65.65	64.14	78.92
Scheduled Tribes			
A. <i>Workers</i>			
Persons	56.65	56.99	43.78
Males	61.25	61.44	54.69
Females	51.99	52.50	31.58
B <i>Non Workers</i>			
Persons	43.35	43.01	56.22
Males	38.75	38.56	45.31
Females	48.01	47.50	68.42

TABLE 72 —RURAL URBAN PROPORTIONS OF PERSONS AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES
BY EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY, INDIA, 1961
(Percentages)

	Total	Rural	Urban
<i>Scheduled Caste Persons</i>			
Total population	100.0	89.3	10.7
Illiterates	100.0	90.7	9.3
Literate and educated persons	100.0	77.4	22.6
Total workers	100.0	91.3	8.7
Industrial Classification			
I As cultivator	100.0	98.7	1.3
II As agricultural labourer	100.0	97.6	2.4
III In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc.	100.0	86.2	13.8
IV At household industry	100.0	89.4	10.6
V Manufacturing other than household industry	100.0	43.3	56.7
VI Construction	100.0	57.9	42.1
VII Trade and commerce	100.0	57.3	42.7
VIII Transport, storage and communications	100.0	38.2	61.8
IX Other services	100.0	74.8	25.2
Non-workers	100.0	87.5	12.5

TABLE 70.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AMONG
SCHEDULED TRIBES INTO BROAD INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES, INDIA, 1961

<i>Industrial Categories</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total workers*	Persons	100 00	100 00	100 00
	Males	100 00	100 00	100 00
	Females	100 00	100 00	100 00
1. As cultivator	Persons	68.15	69.32	10.71
	Males	69.20	69.65	9.91
	Females	88 09	68.94	12 44
2. As agricultural labourer	Persons	19.73	19 91	10 60
	Males	18.38	18.62	8 57
	Females	21.34	21 44	14.54
3. In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activities	Persons	3.42	3 33	7.77
	Males	4 11	4 01	8.37
	Females	2 59	2.53	6 62
4. At household industry	Persons	2 47	2.43	4 43
	Males	2 08	2.04	3.43
	Females	2 94	2.89	6.36
5. In manufacturing other than household industry	Persons	0.71	0 43	14 24
	Males	0.92	0 54	16.25
	Females	0.45	0 30	10.35
6. In construction	Persons	0 31	0 24	4 12
	Males	0.41	0 32	4.16
	Females	0.20	0.14	4 04
7. In trade and commerce	Persons	0 39	0.30	5.12
	Males	0 40	0.29	4 64
	Females	0 39	0.30	6 05
8. In transport, storage and communications	Persons	0.27	0 15	6.15
	Males	0 46	0 27	8 27
	Females	0 05	0 02	2 04
9. In other services	Persons	4 55	3.89	36.86
	Males	5 04	4 26	36 50
	Females	3.95	3.44	37.56

*Excludes the populations of N.E.P.A. as their distribution is not available.

Section VI: Migration

TABLE 74.—NET ALL-TIME MIGRATION IN EACH STATE, 1961

States	Immigrants	Outmigrants	Net Migrants	Migration Rates (Percentages)
PERSONS				
Andhra Pradesh	382,773	862,279	-279,506	-7.78
Assam	463,154	90,177	+377,977	+3.18
Bihar	848,045	2,026,923	-1,178,878	-2.54
Gujarat	513,631	725,465	-211,834	-1.03
Jammu & Kashmir	30,696	74,756	-44,060	-1.24
Kerala	228,857	611,703	-382,846	-2.26
Madhya Pradesh	1,475,811	821,554	+654,257	+2.02
Madras	537,827	1,019,006	-481,179	-1.43
Maharashtra	2,441,523	858,306	+1,583,217	+4.00
Mysore	1,028,082	790,954	+237,128	+1.01
Orissa	331,660	468,457	-136,827	-0.78
Punjab	663,958	1,254,539	-590,581	-2.91
Rajasthan	644,243	1,128,142	-483,899	-2.40
Uttar Pradesh	1,092,897	2,558,746	-1,465,849	-1.99
West Bengal	2,222,492	596,670	+1,625,822	+4.66
Delhi	959,035	181,977	+777,058	+29.23
MALES				
Andhra Pradesh	252,842	427,793	-174,951	-0.96
Assam	325,232	51,136	+275,096	+4.35
Bihar	375,646	1,289,638	-913,992	-3.92
Gujarat	292,035	398,405	-106,370	-1.00
Jammu & Kashmir	15,537	47,074	-31,537	-1.66
Kerala	120,488	397,192	-276,704	-3.31
Madhya Pradesh	709,829	309,424	+400,405	+2.42
Madras	285,458	549,154	-263,696	-1.56
Maharashtra	1,462,763	392,103	+1,070,665	+5.24
Mysore	513,119	364,222	+148,897	+1.24
Orissa	150,831	269,502	-119,171	-1.35
Punjab	293,860	653,574	-359,714	-3.30
Rajasthan	245,103	533,353	-288,250	-2.73
Uttar Pradesh	410,278	1,546,206	-1,135,928	-2.94
West Bengal	1,562,384	271,101	+1,291,283	+6.94
Delhi	555,908	72,441	+483,467	+32.46
FEMALES				
Andhra Pradesh	329,931	434,486	-104,555	-0.59
Assam	141,922	39,041	+102,881	+1.86
Bihar	472,399	737,285	-264,886	-1.14
Gujarat	221,596	327,060	-105,464	-1.05
Jammu & Kashmir	15,159	27,682	-12,523	-0.75
Kerala	108,369	214,511	-106,142	-1.24
Madhya Pradesh	765,982	512,130	+253,852	+1.61
Madras	252,369	469,852	-217,483	-1.30
Maharashtra	978,755	566,203	+412,552	+2.68
Mysore	514,963	426,732	+88,231	+0.76
Orissa	180,829	198,985	-18,156	-0.21
Punjab	370,093	600,965	-230,867	-2.45
Rajasthan	399,140	594,789	-195,649	-2.04
Uttar Pradesh	682,619	1,012,540	-329,921	-0.94
West Bengal	660,108	325,569	+334,539	+3.05
Delhi	403,127	109,536	+293,591	+25.11

TABLE 73.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF PERSONS AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES BY EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY, INDIA, 1961

<i>Scheduled Tribe Persons</i>	(Percentages)		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total population	100.0	97.4	2.6
Illiterates	100.0	97.8	2.2
Literate and educated persons	100.0	93.2	6.8
Total workers	100.0	98.0	2.0
Industrial Classification			
I As cultivator	100.0	99.7	.3
II As agricultural labourer	100.0	98.9	1.1
III In mining, quarrying, livestock, fishing etc.	100.0	95.4	4.6
IV At household industry	100.0	96.4	3.6
V Manufacturing other than household industry	100.0	59.8	40.2
VI Construction	100.0	73.7	26.3
VII Trade and commerce	100.0	73.9	26.1
VIII Transport, storage & communications	100.0	55.3	44.7
IX Other services	100.0	83.8	16.2
Non-workers	100.0	96.6	3.4

TABLE 76—NET INTER-STATE MIGRATION DURING THE 1951-61 DECADE IN EACH STATE

States	Immigrants	Outmigrants	Net Migrants	Migration Rates (Percentages)
PERSONS				
Andhra Pradesh	372,800	546,792	-173,992	-0.48
Assam	617,834	67,945	+549,889	+4.63
Bihar	548,424	1,143,864	-600,440	-1.29
Gujarat	441,459	365,488	+75,971	+0.37
Jammu & Kashmir	42,979	53,683	-10,704	-0.30
Kerala	161,123	440,991	-279,868	-1.66
Madhya Pradesh	1,030,376	412,286	+618,090	+1.91
Madras	426,716	577,308	-150,592	-0.45
Maharashtra	1,575,402	555,979	+1,019,423	+2.58
Mysore	716,486	435,953	+280,533	+1.19
Orissa	209,984	264,842	-54,858	-0.31
Punjab	1,166,644	762,477	+404,167	+1.99
Rajasthan	443,813	626,683	-182,870	-0.91
Uttar Pradesh	831,614	1,568,579	-736,938	-1.00
West Bengal	3,166,067	336,555	+2,829,512	+8.10
Delhi	888,060	120,196	+767,864	+28.83
MALES				
Andhra Pradesh	183,677	252,194	-108,517	-0.60
Assam	395,459	38,292	+357,167	+5.64
Bihar	277,752	773,789	-496,037	-2.13
Gujarat	251,174	198,777	+52,397	+0.49
Jammu & Kashmir	22,578	36,591	-14,013	-0.74
Kerala	87,506	291,756	-204,250	-2.44
Madhya Pradesh	560,725	180,311	+380,414	+2.29
Madras	226,927	323,593	-96,666	-0.57
Maharashtra	955,539	274,269	+681,270	+3.33
Mysore	385,669	217,587	+168,082	+1.40
Orissa	105,271	164,722	-59,451	-0.68
Punjab	622,834	435,663	+187,171	+1.72
Rajasthan	214,506	336,300	-121,794	-1.15
Uttar Pradesh	411,209	1,032,599	-621,390	-1.61
West Bengal	1,042,050	168,099	+1,773,951	+9.54
Delhi	517,191	54,894	+462,297	+31.04
FEMALES				
Andhra Pradesh	189,123	254,598	-65,475	-0.37
Assam	222,375	29,653	+192,722	+3.48
Bihar	270,672	375,075	-104,403	-0.45
Gujarat	190,285	166,711	+23,574	+0.24
Jammu & Kashmir	20,401	17,092	+3,309	+0.20
Kerala	73,617	149,235	-75,618	-0.89
Madhya Pradesh	469,651	231,975	+237,676	+1.50
Madras	199,789	253,715	-53,926	-0.32
Maharashtra	619,863	281,710	+338,153	+1.77
Mysore	330,817	218,366	+112,451	+0.97
Orissa	104,713	100,120	+4,593	+0.05
Punjab	543,810	326,814	+216,996	+2.30
Rajasthan	229,307	290,383	-61,076	-0.64
Uttar Pradesh	420,432	535,980	-115,548	-0.33
West Bengal	1,224,017	168,456	+1,055,561	+6.47
Delhi	370,869	65,302	+305,567	+26.13

TABLE 75.—INTER-STATE ALL-TIME MIGRATION FLOWS, 1961

<i>States</i>	<i>Rural to Rural</i>	<i>Urban to Rural</i>	<i>Rural to Urban</i>	<i>Urban to Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
IN-MIGRANTS					
Andhra Pradesh	244,065	45,995	131,938	161,402	583,400
Assam	357,752	11,264	89,396	30,409	488,821
Bihar	461,090	36,403	222,649	128,319	848,461
Gujarat	124,602	37,818	193,296	172,553	528,269
Jammu & Kashmir	13,744	3,138	5,757	9,282	31,921
Kerala	145,326	26,271	29,228	31,353	232,178
Madhya Pradesh	669,506	86,892	365,916	354,807	1,477,121
Madras	118,422	53,622	188,323	226,666	587,033
Maharashtra	368,376	72,779	1,060,206	940,808	2,442,169
Mysore	435,869	64,491	278,382	249,671	1,028,413
Orissa	190,188	13,356	71,680	56,451	331,675
Punjab	355,378	42,210	186,558	126,988	711,134
Rajasthan	401,529	36,549	86,327	119,962	644,367
Uttar Pradesh	553,722	60,673	218,447	270,219	1,103,061
West Bengal	658,934	32,905	1,196,035	347,768	2,235,642
Delhi	77,181	2,622	526,554	360,631	966,988
OUT-MIGRANTS					
Andhra Pradesh	306,398	40,501	298,602	223,286	868,787
Assam	57,799	12,229	21,378	24,213	115,619
Bihar	971,806	34,120	815,982	217,964	2,039,872
Gujarat	75,706	20,447	308,761	326,932	731,846
Jammu & Kashmir	20,352	3,403	26,192	28,549	78,496
Kerala	126,857	34,624	240,105	221,856	623,442
Madhya Pradesh	435,115	42,291	166,202	179,652	823,260
Madras	374,528	74,414	325,288	318,504	1,092,734
Maharashtra	325,308	78,522	184,634	274,115	862,579
Mysore	265,295	51,650	212,623	262,186	791,754
Orissa	251,532	12,645	157,325	49,553	471,055
Punjab	492,592	40,417	428,491	353,172	1,314,672
Rajasthan	459,943	41,416	393,040	235,467	1,129,866
Uttar Pradesh	752,910	73,862	1,156,052	594,137	2,576,961
West Bengal	289,183	48,726	99,040	167,029	603,978
Delhi	46,023	26,153	13,688	97,097	182,961
NET-MIGRANTS					
Andhra Pradesh	-62,333	+5,494	-166,664	-61,884	-285,387
Assam	+299,953	-965	+68,108	+6,196	+373,292
Bihar	-510,716	+2,283	-593,333	-89,645	-1,191,411
Gujarat	+48,896	+17,371	-115,465	-154,379	-203,577
Jammu & Kashmir	-6,608	-265	-20,435	-19,267	-46,575
Kerala	+18,469	-8,353	-210,877	-190,503	-391,264
Madhya Pradesh	+234,391	+44,601	+199,714	+175,155	+653,861
Madras	-256,106	-20,792	-136,965	-91,838	-505,701
Maharashtra	+43,068	-5,743	+875,572	+666,693	+1,579,590
Mysore	+170,574	+12,841	+65,759	-12,515	+236,659
Orissa	-61,334	+711	-85,645	+6,898	-139,370
Punjab	-137,214	+1,793	-241,933	-226,184	-603,538
Rajasthan	-58,414	-4,867	-306,713	-115,505	-485,499
Uttar Pradesh	-199,188	-13,189	-937,605	-323,918	-1,473,900
West Bengal	+369,758	-15,821	+1,096,995	+180,739	+1,631,671
Delhi	+31,158	-23,531	+512,866	+263,534	+784,027

TABLE 78 —SHORT-RUN INTER-STATE MIGRATION, 1961

TABLE 78—SHORT-RUN INTER-STATE MIGRATION, 1931				
States		Migrants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
ANDHRA PRADESH				
Rural to Rural	In	28,038	14,268	13,770
	Out	74,872	44,132	30,740
	Net	-46,834	-29,864	-16,970
Urban to Rural	In	8,641	4,711	3,930
	Out	11,606	7,247	4,359
	Net	-2,965	-2,536	-429
Rural to Urban	In	23,127	15,427	7,700
	Out	41,832	26,293	15,539
	Net	-18,705	-10,866	-7,839
Urban to Urban	In	25,245	14,101	11,144
	Out	29,587	17,542	12,045
	Net	-4,342	-3,441	-901
Total (all the four streams)	In	85,051	48,507	36,544
	Out	157,897	95,214	62,683
	Net	-72,846	-46,707	-26,139
ASSAM				
Rural to Rural	In	38,854	30,011	8,843
	Out	10,274	5,779	4,495
	Net	28,580	24,232	4,348
Urban to Rural	In	1,676	1,270	406
	Out	2,625	1,463	1,162
	Net	-949	-193	-756
Rural to Urban	In	12,628	11,055	1,573
	Out	5,348	3,705	1,643
	Net	7,280	7,350	-70
Urban to Urban	In	4,504	3,258	1,246
	Out	4,299	2,460	1,839
	Net	8,047	798	7,249
Total	In	57,662	45,594	12,068
	Out	22,546	13,407	9,139
	Net	42,958	32,187	2,929
BIHAR				
Rural to Rural	In	46,678	29,315	17,363
	Out	121,870	83,947	37,923
	Net	-75,192	-59,632	-15,560
Urban to Rural	In	6,690	4,016	2,674
	Out	5,539	3,475	2,064
	Net	1,151	561	590
Rural to Urban	In	25,494	16,139	9,355
	Out	82,966	62,725	20,241
	Net	-57,472	-46,586	-10,886
Urban to Urban	In	16,192	9,541	6,651
	Out	23,390	15,159	8,231
	Net	-7,198	-5,618	-1,580
Total	In	95,054	59,031	36,023
	Out	233,765	170,306	63,459
	Net	-138,711	-111,275	-27,436

(cont.)

TABLE 77.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF INTER-STATE MIGRANTS
BY FOUR MIGRATION STREAMS, 1961

<i>States</i>	<i>In-Migrants</i>				<i>Out-Migrants</i>			
	<i>Rural to Rural</i>	<i>Urban to Rural</i>	<i>Rural to Urban</i>	<i>Urban to Urban</i>	<i>Rural to Rural</i>	<i>Urban to Rural</i>	<i>Rural to Urban</i>	<i>Urban to Urban</i>
Andhra Pradesh	41.8	7.9	22.6	27.7	35.3	4.6	34.4	25.7
Assam	73.2	2.3	18.3	6.2	50.0	10.6	18.5	20.9
Bihar	54.4	4.3	26.2	15.1	47.6	1.7	40.0	10.7
Gujarat	23.6	7.1	36.6	32.7	10.3	2.8	42.2	44.7
Jammu & Kashmir	43.1	9.8	18.0	29.1	25.9	4.3	33.4	36.4
Kerala	62.6	11.3	12.6	13.5	20.3	5.6	38.5	35.6
Madhya Pradesh	45.3	5.9	24.8	24.0	52.9	5.1	20.2	21.8
Madras	20.2	9.1	32.1	38.6	34.3	6.8	29.8	29.1
Maharashtra	15.1	3.0	43.4	38.5	37.7	9.1	21.4	31.8
Mysore	42.4	6.3	27.0	24.3	33.5	6.5	26.9	33.1
Orissa	57.4	4.0	21.6	17.0	53.4	2.7	33.4	10.5
Punjab	50.0	5.9	26.2	17.9	37.5	3.1	32.6	26.8
Rajasthan	62.3	5.7	13.4	18.6	40.7	3.7	34.8	20.8
Uttar Pradesh	50.2	5.5	19.8	24.5	29.2	2.9	44.9	23.0
West Bengal	29.5	1.5	53.5	15.5	47.9	8.0	16.4	27.7
Delhi	8.0	.3	54.4	37.3	25.1	14.3	7.5	53.1

TABLE 78 (contd)

States		Migrants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
MADHYA PRADESH				
Rural to Rural	In	131 440	78 735	52,705
	Out	42,075	20 056	22,019
	Net	89,365	58 679	30 686
Urban to Rural	In	20 955	12 863	8 092
	Out	6,893	3 535	3,358
	Net	14 062	9 328	4 734
Rural to Urban	In	70 006	48 339	21 667
	Out	18 858	11 433	7 425
	Net	51 148	36 906	14,242
Urban to Urban	In	54,234	32,777	21 457
	Out	21,335	11 511	9 824
	Net	32 899	21,266	11 633
Total	In	276 635	172,714	103 921
	Out	89 161	46,535	42,626
	Net	187 474	126 179	61,295
MADRAS				
Rural to Rural	In	15 459	9 437	6 022
	Out	35 965	21 482	14 483
	Net	-20,506	-12,045	-8 461
Urban to Rural	In	10,242	6 145	4 097
	Out	11,311	6,943	4 368
	Net	-1 069	-798	-271
Rural to Urban	In	21 007	13,267	7 740
	Out	42,151	26 763	15 388
	Net	-21 144	-13 496	-7 648
Urban to Urban	In	28,247	16 013	12,234
	Out	40 459	24 372	16 087
	Net	-12,212	8 359	-3 853
Total	In	74 955	44 862	30 093
	Out	179 886	79 560	50 326
	Net	-54,931	-34 698	20,233
MAHARASHTRA				
Rural to Rural	In	73 427	45 793	27 634
	Out	56,320	30 135	26 185
	Net	17 107	15 658	1 449
Urban to Rural	In	18,369	11,511	6,858
	Out	16 639	9 107	7,532
	Net	1 730	2,404	-674
Rural to Urban	In	122,179	84 617	37 562
	Out	30 658	19 055	11 603
	Net	91,521	65,562	25 959
Urban to Urban	In	89,345	54 142	35,203
	Out	42,767	22,678	20 089
	Net	46 578	31 464	15 114
Total	In	303 320	196 063	107,257
	Out	146,384	80 975	65 409
	Net	156,936	115 088	41 848

(con d.)

TABLE 78 (contd)

States		Migrants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
GUJARAT				
Rural to Rural	In	38,407	23,602	14,805
	Out	14,208	8,726	5,482
	Net	24,199	14,876	9,323
Urban to Rural	In	10,118	6,168	3,950
	Out	4,365	2,656	1,709
	Net	5,753	3,512	2,241
Rural to Urban	In	26,539	17,442	8,797
	Out	29,331	17,351	11,980
	Net	-2,792	+391	-3,183
Urban to Urban	In	25,736	15,243	10,493
	Out	28,170	13,866	10,704
	Net	1,566	1,777	-211
Total (all the four streams)	In	100,800	62,455	38,045
	Out	72,074	42,199	29,875
	Net	28,726	20,256	8,170
JAMMU & KASHMIR				
Rural to Rural	In	2,893	2,009	884
	Out	6,118	5,035	1,083
	Net	-3,225	-3,026	-199
Urban to Rural	In	907	534	373
	Out	766	524	242
	Net	141	10	131
Rural to Urban	In	1,946	1,152	794
	Out	9,209	7,933	1,276
	Net	-7,263	-6,781	-482
Urban to Urban	In	3,043	1,463	1,580
	Out	5,214	3,449	1,765
	Net	-2,171	-1,986	-185
Total	In	8,789	5,158	3,631
	Out	21,307	16,941	4,366
	Net	-12,518	-11,783	-735
KERALA				
Rural to Rural	In	21,155	12,426	8,729
	Out	25,027	19,325	5,702
	Net	-3,872	-6,899	3,027
Urban to Rural	In	5,347	3,004	2,343
	Out	8,227	5,907	2,320
	Net	-2,880	-2,903	23
Rural to Urban	In	6,260	4,408	1,852
	Out	37,348	27,364	9,984
	Net	-31,088	-22,956	-8,132
Urban to Urban	In	7,546	5,225	2,321
	Out	31,235	20,633	10,602
	Net	-23,689	-15,408	-8,281
Total	In	40,308	25,063	15,245
	Out	101,837	73,229	28,608
	Net	-61,529	-48,166	-13,363

(contd)

TABLE 78 (contd.)

States		M grants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
RAJASTHAN				
Rural to Rural	In	32,735	18 344	14 392
	Out	98 034	56 895	41 139
	Net	-65,298	-38 551	-26 747
Urban to Rural	In	6 138	3,353	2 785
	Out	9 137	5 474	3 663
	Net	-2,999	-2 121	-878
Rural to Urban	In	14,298	9 909	4,390
	Out	52 337	33 483	18 854
	Net	-38 039	-23 575	-14 464
Urban to Urban	In	16,513	9 451	7 062
	Out	26 745	15 680	11 065
	Net	-10,232	-6 229	-4 003
Total	In	69 685	41 056	28 629
	Out	186 253	111,532	74 721
	Net	-116 568	-70 476	-46 092
UTTAR PRADESH				
Rural to Rural	In	43 493	25 624	22,869
	Out	123 779	86 542	37,237
	Net	-75,296	-60 918	-14,368
Urban to Rural	In	12,204	5 822	6,382
	Out	16 064	10 604	5 460
	Net	-3 860	-4 782	922
Rural to Urban	In	36 987	24 847	12,140
	Out	166 748	126 726	40 022
	Net	-129 761	-101 879	-27 882
Urban to Urban	In	35 810	19 136	16 674
	Out	77 495	49 885	27 610
	Net	-41 685	-30 749	-10 936
Total	In	133 494	75 429	58 065
	Out	394 086	273 757	110 329
	Net	-250 592	-198,328	-52,264
WEST BENGAL				
Rural to Rural	In	108 376	80,931	27 445
	Out	23 180	13 083	10 097
	Net	85 196	67 848	17,348
Urban to Rural	In	5 676	3,572	2,104
	Out	8 702	4 955	3 747
	Net	-3 026	-1,383	-1 643
Rural to Urban	In	109 127	81 673	27 454
	Out	17 425	7 773	4 652
	Net	96 702	73 900	22,802
Urban to Urban	In	31 469	20 372	11 097
	Out	24,227	13,567	10 660
	Net	7,242	6,805	437
Total	In	254 643	186,543	68 100
	Out	68,534	39,378	29 156
	Net	186,114	147 170	38,944

(contd.)

TABLE 73 (contd.)

States		Migrants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
MYSORE				
Rural to Rural	In	87,577	52,848	34,729
	Out	30,224	15,891	14,333
	Net	57,353	36,951	20,396
Urban to Rural	In	15,928	10,226	5,702
	Out	9,556	5,087	4,469
	Net	6,372	5,139	1,233
Rural to Urban	In	47,343	30,785	16,558
	Out	22,178	13,391	8,787
	Net	25,165	17,394	7,771
Urban to Urban	In	38,053	23,441	14,612
	Out	28,878	15,980	12,898
	Net	9,175	7,461	1,714
Total	In	188,901	117,300	71,601
	Out	90,836	50,349	40,487
	Net	98,065	66,951	31,114
ORISSA				
Rural to Rural	In	19,983	10,511	9,472
	Out	30,320	21,565	8,755
	Net	-10,337	-11,054	717
Urban to Rural	In	2,462	1,428	1,034
	Out	2,156	1,364	792
	Net	306	64	242
Rural to Urban	In	9,383	5,709	3,674
	Out	19,328	14,219	5,109
	Net	-9,945	-8,510	-1,435
Urban to Urban	In	8,096	5,223	2,873
	Out	5,745	3,840	1,905
	Net	2,351	1,383	968
Total	In	39,924	22,871	17,053
	Out	57,549	40,988	16,561
	Net	-17,625	-18,117	492
PUNJAB				
Rural to Rural	In	66,407	42,907	23,500
	Out	50,268	30,729	19,539
	Net	16,139	12,178	3,961
Urban to Rural	In	8,766	4,948	3,818
	Out	7,209	4,407	2,802
	Net	1,557	541	1,016
Rural to Urban	In	49,153	37,990	11,163
	Out	66,792	46,450	20,342
	Net	-17,639	-8,460	-9,179
Urban to Urban	In	25,537	14,910	10,627
	Out	41,790	23,693	18,097
	Net	-16,253	-8,783	-7,470
Total	In	149,863	100,755	49,108
	Out	166,059	105,279	60,780
	Net	-16,196	-4,524	-11,672

(contd.)

TABLE 80—INDEX OF IMMOBILITY OF WORKERS, 1961
(Percentages of workers born in the place of enumeration to total workers)

States	Males		Females		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
INDIA	78.3	69.8	36.7	55.7	64.4	67.3
Andhra Pradesh	77.1	75.0	42.6	63.1	63.0	71.9
Assam	66.7	60.3	54.9	66.7	62.4	61.5
Bihar	84.9	78.9	27.4	57.2	65.7	75.9
Gujarat	76.7	71.4	31.9	54.0	60.8	68.4
Jammu & Kashmir	84.9	84.8	60.5	70.5	77.5	83.4
Kerala	72.2	75.5	58.5	69.7	68.1	74.3
Madhya Pradesh	72.9	60.7	26.9	38.5	53.3	55.8
Madras	79.4	74.8	53.4	69.7	69.9	73.7
Maharashtra	65.4	53.2	28.9	45.5	50.4	51.6
Mysore	73.3	68.7	42.9	59.4	62.2	66.7
Orissa	84.4	67.5	33.4	53.9	68.5	65.5
Punjab	78.6	67.2	27.4	31.9	67.6	63.9
Rajasthan	86.8	78.1	30.8	41.7	65.6	71.2
Uttar Pradesh	87.8	77.9	36.3	48.6	75.9	75.1
West Bengal	69.9	79.4	37.2	67.9	65.0	78.7

TABLE 81—PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANT WORKERS TO TOTAL WORKERS, 1961

States	Males		Females		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
INDIA	21.7	30.2	63.3	44.3	35.6	32.7
Andhra Pradesh	22.9	25.0	57.4	36.9	37.0	28.1
Assam	33.3	39.7	45.1	33.3	37.6	38.5
Bihar	15.1	21.1	72.6	42.8	34.3	24.1
Gujarat	23.3	28.6	68.1	46.0	39.2	31.6
Jammu & Kashmir	15.1	15.2	39.5	29.5	22.5	16.6
Kerala	27.8	24.5	41.2	30.3	31.9	25.7
Madhya Pradesh	27.1	39.3	73.1	61.5	46.7	44.2
Madras	20.6	25.2	46.6	30.3	30.1	26.3
Maharashtra	34.6	46.8	71.1	54.5	49.6	48.4
Mysore	26.7	31.3	57.1	40.6	37.8	33.3
Orissa	15.6	32.5	66.6	46.1	31.5	34.5
Punjab	21.4	32.8	72.6	68.1	32.4	36.1
Rajasthan	13.2	21.9	69.2	58.3	34.4	28.8
Uttar Pradesh	12.2	22.1	63.7	51.4	24.1	24.9
West Bengal	30.1	20.6	62.8	32.1	35.0	21.3

TABLE 78 (contd)

States		Migrants with duration of residence less than one year		
		Total	Males	Females
DELHI				
Rural to Rural	In	24,977	14,708	10,269
	Out	7,158	2,413	4,745
	Net	17,819	12,295	5,524
Urban to Rural	In	862	460	402
	Out	7,101	3,413	3,688
	Net	-6,239	-2,953	-3,286
Rural to Urban	In	76,098	51,259	24,839
	Out	2,393	1,601	792
	Net	73,705	49,658	24,047
Urban to Urban	In	45,583	25,667	19,916
	Out	15,991	8,529	7,462
	Net	29,592	17,138	12,454
Total	In	147,520	92,094	55,426
	Out	32,643	15,956	16,687
	Net	114,877	76,138	38,739

NOTE. Immigrants include persons migrated from all the States and Union Territories in India.

Outmigrants include persons migrated to all States and Delhi but exclude out-migrants to other Union Territories.

TABLE 79.—INDEX OF IMMOBILITY, 1961
(Percentages of population born in the place of enumeration)

States	Males		Females		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
INDIA	81.9	76.7	53.0	70.0	67.8	73.6
Andhra Pradesh	78.8	78.8	55.1	72.0	67.0	75.4
Assam	76.7	74.7	69.3	78.1	73.2	76.3
Bihar	90.0	83.8	50.0	74.8	69.0	79.8
Gujarat	80.6	78.2	50.0	70.6	65.7	74.6
Jammu & Kashmir	88.0	87.7	70.1	83.6	80.4	85.3
Kerala	79.7	81.8	69.5	78.4	74.5	80.1
Madhya Pradesh	78.3	70.5	47.7	60.6	63.3	65.9
Madras	82.0	79.2	62.0	73.7	72.0	76.3
Maharashtra	70.0	66.0	45.2	61.8	57.9	64.0
Mysore	76.8	75.3	56.8	70.2	66.9	72.8
Orissa	87.1	74.4	51.0	64.3	69.0	69.9
Punjab	81.9	75.8	50.6	64.7	67.4	70.7
Rajasthan	83.6	83.2	50.7	70.2	70.5	77.1
Uttar Pradesh	89.1	82.2	48.7	70.5	69.8	76.8
West Bengal	77.7	78.4	56.4	77.8	67.6	78.1

TABLE 83—RURAL URBAN PROPORTIONS OF HOUSES BY TYPE OF USE, INDIA, 1961

<i>Census Houses under Different Uses</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Census Houses	100 0	82.5	17.5
Vacant Census Houses	100 0	78.2	21.8
Occupied Census Houses	100 0	82.8	17.2
1 Dwellings	100 0	82.4	17.6
2. Shop-cum-dwellings	100 0	65.2	34.8
3 Workshop-cum-dwellings	100 0	81.0	19.0
4 Hotel, sarais, dharamshalas, tourist houses and inspection houses	100 0	60.7	39.3
5 Shops excluding eating houses	100 0	48.7	51.3
6. Business houses and offices	100 0	43.1	56.9
7 Factories, workshops and sheds	100 0	56.9	43.1
8. Schools and other educational institutions including training classes, coaching and shop classes	100 0	82.5	17.5
9 Restaurants, sweetmeat shops and eating places	100 0	58.5	41.5
10 Places of entertainment and community gathering (Panchayat Ghar)	100 0	86.1	13.9
11 Public health and medical institutions, hospitals, health centres, doctors' clinics and dispensaries, etc.	100 0	51.1	48.9
12. Others	100 0	93.1	6.9

TABLE 84—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN HOUSES USED WHOLLY OR PARTLY AS DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO PREDOMINANT MATERIAL OF ROOF (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	1,000	1,000
1 Grass, leaves, reeds, matchwood or bamboo	460	200
2. Tile, slate, shingle	354	349
3 Corrugated iron, zinc or other metal sheets	41	121
4 Asbestos cement sheets	2	15
5 Brick and lime	15	106
6. Concrete and stone slabs	20	154
7 All other materials	108	55

Section VII: Housing

TABLE 82.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 HOUSES BY TYPE OF USE, INDIA, 1961

<i>Census Houses</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000
Vacant Census Houses	58	55	72
Occupied Census Houses	942	945	928
1. Dwellings, shop-cum-dwellings, workshop-cum-dwellings	735	730	746
(a) Dwellings	716	714	721
(b) Shop-cum-dwellings	6	4	12
(c) Workshops	13	12	13
2. Hotels, sarais, dharamshalas, tourist houses and inspection houses	2	1	4
3. Shops excluding eating houses	21	12	63
4. Business homes and offices	3	1	11
5. Factories, workshops and worksheds	10	6	25
6. Schools and other educational institutions including training classes, coaching and shop classes	4	3	4
7. Restaurants, sweetmeat shops and eating places	2	1	5
8. Places of entertainment and community gathering (Panchayat Ghar)	6	6	5
9. Public health and medical institutions, hospitals, health centres, doctors' clinics and dispensaries, etc.	1	7	3
10. Others	158	173	62

TABLE 88 —NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM AND PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD IN EACH CATEGORY OF HOUSEHOLD (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

Number of Rooms		Number of Persons per Room	Average Number of Persons per Household
Total	Total	2.58	5.17
	Rural	2.58	5.19
	Urban	2.61	5.08
One Room	Total	4.35	4.35
	Rural	4.40	4.40
	Urban	4.17	4.17
Two Rooms	Total	2.63	5.27
	Rural	2.62	5.25
	Urban	2.69	5.38
Three Rooms	Total	2.01	6.04
	Rural	2.01	6.02
	Urban	2.06	6.19
Four Rooms	Total	1.69	6.74
	Rural	1.68	6.71
	Urban	1.73	6.92
Five Rooms and more	Total	1.30	8.22
	Rural	1.30	8.14
	Urban	1.28	8.58

TABLE 89 —PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN HOUSES USED WHOLLY OR PARTLY AS DWELLINGS BY TENURAL STATUS (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

Census Houses used Wholly or Partly as Dwellings	Tenural Status	Total	Rural	Urban
I. Total Households	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Owned	85.2	93.6	46.2
	Rented	14.8	6.4	53.7
	Not stated	N	N	1
II Dwellings	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Owned	85.4	93.8	46.2
	Rented	14.6	6.2	53.7
	Not stated	N	N	.1
III Shop-Cum-Dwellings	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Owned	58.7	73.8	34.7
	Rented	41.3	26.2	65.3
	Not stated	N	N	N
IV. Workshop-Cum-Dwellings	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Owned	84.8	92.0	60.9
	Rented	15.1	8.0	38.9
	Not stated	.1	N	.2
V Dwellings with other uses	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Owned	47.7	63.1	27.1
	Rented	50.8	16.4	72.4
	Not stated	.5	.5	.5

Note: N indicates Negligible

TABLE 85.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN HOUSES USED WHOLLY OR PARTLY AS DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO PREDOMINANT MATERIAL OF ROOF (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total No. of Households	100 0	82.2	17.8
1. Grass, leaves, reeds, match, wood or bamboo	100 0	91.4	8.6
2. Tile, slate, shingle	100 0	82.4	17.6
3. Corrugated iron, zinc or other metal sheets	100 0	60.9	39.1
4. Asbestos cement sheets	100 0	37.0	63.0
5. Brick and lime	100 0	39.8	60.2
6. Concrete and stone slabs	100 0	37.4	62.6
7. All other materials	100.0	90.0	10.0

TABLE 86.—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN HOUSES USED WHOLLY OR PARTLY AS DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO PREDOMINANT MATERIAL OF WALL (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	1,000	1,000
1. Grass, leaves, reeds or bamboo	125	60
2. Timber	12	11
3. Mud	569	215
4. Unburnt bricks	75	46
5. Burnt bricks	92	515
6. C I sheets or other metal sheets	1	15
7. Stone	120	116
8. Cement concrete	1	17
9. All other materials	4	5

TABLE 87.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Number of Rooms</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1. Households with no regular rooms	100 0	88.9	11.1
2. One room	100 0	80.8	19.2
3. Two rooms	100 0	83.4	16.6
4. Three rooms	100 0	83.8	16.2
5. Four rooms	100 0	83.8	16.2
6. Five rooms or more	100 0	82.8	17.2

Section VIII: Industrial Establishments

TABLE 91—*DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORIES BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUPS,
INDIA, 1960-61*

Major Groups	Rural		Urban	
	No	Percent	No	Percent
All Divisions	1,686,195	100.00	713,642	100.00
Division 0—Agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting	5,893	0.35	589	0.08
1—Mining	2*	N	13*	N
2 and 3—Manufacturing	1,680,300	99.65	713,040	99.92
20—Foodstuff	301,706	17.89	109,598	14.10
21—Beverages	8,860	0.53	7,790	1.09
22—Tobacco products	129,545	7.68	35,075	4.92
23—Textile Cotton	290,251	17.21	125,511	17.59
24—Textile Jute	4,245	0.25	902	0.13
25—Textile Wool	19,590	1.16	2,498	0.35
26—Textile Silk	6,742	0.40	11,104	1.56
27—Textile miscellaneous	130,190	7.72	101,697	14.25
28—Manufacture of wood and wooden products	226,193	13.42	43,453	6.09
29—Paper and paper products	507	0.03	1,663	0.23
30—Printing and publishing	794	0.05	15,054	2.11
31—Leather and leather products	133,902	7.94	32,484	4.55
32—Rubber, petroleum and coal products	676	0.04	2,168	0.30
33—Chemicals and chemical products	5,883	0.35	10,111	1.41
34 and 35—Non-metallic mineral products other than petroleum and coal	141,897	8.42	19,436	2.72
36—Basic metal and their products except machinery and transport equipment	152,483	9.04	55,080	7.72
37—Machinery (all kinds other than trans- port) and electricity equipment	1,166	0.07	11,470	1.61
38—Transport equipment	23,968	1.42	51,076	7.16
39—Miscellaneous manufacturing indus- tries	101,702	6.03	85,870	12.03

*Mining of gold ore in Mysore state. Though the ore is actually removed underground structures numbered as Census houses are used for housing the machinery for lifting the ore to the surface for further processing. This process of the recovery of gold from the ore is a part of mining operation and therefore has been classified in the minor group 102 (mining of gold).

TABLE 90.—RURAL-URBAN PROPORTIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN HOUSES
USED WHOLLY OR PARTLY AS DWELLINGS BY TENURIAL
STATUS (BASED ON 20% SAMPLE), INDIA, 1961

(Percentages)

<i>Census Houses used Wholly or Partly as Dwellings</i>	<i>Tenurial Status</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
I. Total Households	Total	100.0	82.2	17.8
	Owned	100.0	90.4	9.6
	Rented	100.0	35.5	64.5
	Not stated	100.0	75.9	24.1
II. Dwellings	Total	100.0	82.4	17.6
	Owned	100.0	90.5	9.5
	Rented	100.0	35.3	64.7
	Not stated	100.0	77.6	22.4
III. Shop-Cum-Dwellings	Total	100.0	61.4	38.6
	Owned	100.0	77.2	22.8
	Rented	100.0	38.9	61.1
	Not stated	100.0	64.1	35.9
IV. Workshop-Cum-Dwellings	Total	100.0	76.9	23.1
	Owned	100.0	83.4	16.6
	Rented	100.0	40.8	59.2
	Not stated	100.0	20.9	79.1
V. Dwelling with other uses	Total	100.0	59.8	40.2
	Owned	100.0	77.7	22.3
	Rented	100.0	42.8	57.2
	Not stated	100.0	57.4	42.6

TABLE 94—DISTRIBUTION OF WORKSHOPS AND FACTORIES AND WORKERS IN ORGANISED AND UNORGANISED SECTORS, INDIA, 1960-61

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Rural Urban</i>	<i>Workshops and Factories</i>	<i>Establishments using Electricity</i>	<i>Workers</i>
Total	Rural	1,686,195	20,504	16,934,622
	Urban	713,642	100,321	8,293,257
Organised sector	Rural	56,906	4,773	6,991,952
	Urban	92,780	37,010	6,204,840
Unorganised sector	Rural	1,629,289*	15,731*	9,942,670
	Urban	620,862*	63,311*	2,088,417
Unorganised sector as percentage of total	Rural	96.6	76.7	58.7
	Urban	87.0	63.1	25.2

*Includes establishments for which employment was not stated.

TABLE 95—DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS RUNNING WITH POWER OR WITHOUT POWER BY SIZE OF EMPLOYMENT, INDIA, 1960-61

<i>Size of Employment</i>	<i>No Power</i>		<i>Electricity</i>	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1	560	367	258	151
2-5	370	478	437	464
6-9	18	51	79	156
10-19	7	24	63	104
20-49	3	8	47	62
50-99	1	2	20	20
100+	N	1	24	27
Not stated	41	69	22	16

NOTE: N indicates Negligible.

TABLE 96—PERCENTAGE OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS WITH DIFFERENT SIZE OF EMPLOYMENT USING POWER AND NO POWER AMONG TOTAL INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, INDIA, 1960-61

<i>Size of Employment</i>	<i>Using Power</i>			<i>Using No Power</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	5.0	0.8	4.2	78.8	56.2	22.6
1 person	1.7	0.4	1.3	81.2	64.3	16.9
2-5 persons	5.8	1.0	4.8	77.3	40.9	26.4
6-9 persons	21.3	2.0	19.3	64.6	30.6	34.0
10-19 persons	29.8	3.3	26.5	56.3	23.8	32.5
20-49 persons	38.2	5.1	33.1	44.7	21.8	22.9
50-99 persons	43.8	7.2	36.6	35.8	15.3	20.5
100+	61.7	9.6	52.1	19.5	7.2	12.3
Not stated	2.0	0.4	1.6	95.5	57.5	37.0

TABLE 92.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS IN DIFFERENT MAJOR GROUPS BY RURAL AND URBAN, INDIA, 1960-61

<i>Major Groups</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
All Divisions	70.3	29.7
0—Agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting	90.9	9.1
1—Mining	13.3	86.7
2 and 3—Manufacturing	70.2	29.8
20—Foodstuff	75.0	25.0
21—Beverages	53.2	46.8
22—Tobacco products	78.7	21.3
23—Textile Cotton	69.8	20.3
24—Textile Jute	82.5	17.5
25—Textile Wool	88.7	11.3
26—Textile Silk	37.8	62.2
27—Textile miscellaneous	56.1	43.9
28—Manufacture of wood and wooden products	83.9	16.1
29—Paper and paper products	93.4	6.6
30—Printing and publishing	5.0	95.0
31—Leather and leather products	80.5	19.5
32—Rubber, petroleum and coal products	23.8	76.2
33—Chemicals and chemical products	36.8	63.2
34 and 35—Non-Metallic mineral products other than petroleum and coal and manufacturing of earthen ware and earthen pottery	88.1	11.9
36—Basic metal and their products except machinery and transport equipment	73.5	26.5
37—Machinery (all kinds other than transport) and electric equipment	9.2	90.8
38—Transport equipment	31.9	68.1
39—Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	54.2	45.8

TABLE 93.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS BY SIZE OF EMPLOYMENT, INDIA, 1960-61

<i>Size of Employment</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
1	53.03	58.89	39.19
2-5	40.73	37.73	47.81
6-9	3.37	1.36	6.72
10-19	1.64	0.80	3.60
20-49	0.78	0.41	1.66
50-99	0.23	0.12	0.51
100+	0.22	0.09	0.51

TABLE 97 —PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES, SINGLE WORKERS AND FAMILY WORKERS
IN MAJOR GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES, INDIA, 1961

I.S.I.C. Major Groups	Rural		Employers	Employees	Single Workers	Family Workers
	Rural	Urban				
1. Divisions						
00 Field produce: plantation crops						
01 Plantation crops						
	Rural	Urban	3.2	40.6	45.3	10.9
			6.0	61.6	27.5	4.9
02 Forestry and logging						
	Rural	Urban	7.0	22.9	37.6	32.5
			5.2	44.4	31.4	19.0
03 Fishing						
	Rural	Urban	1.3	89.1	4.8	4.8
			3.1	89.2	5.5	2.2
04 Livestock and hunting						
	Rural	Urban	1.7	49.6	33.1	15.6
			7.3	46.2	40.9	5.6
10 Mining and quarrying						
	Rural	Urban	2.4	11.0	59.6	27.0
			2.7	20.8	57.3	19.2
20 Foodstuffs						
	Rural	Urban	2.7	30.9	41.7	24.7
			4.8	38.7	42.5	14.0
21 Beverages						
	Rural	Urban	1.7	78.2	15.1	5.0
			2.1	85.5	10.5	1.9
22 Tobacco products						
	Rural	Urban	4.1	66.7	21.8	7.4
			9.7	62.7	20.5	7.2
23 Textile—cotton						
	Rural	Urban	4.0	40.9	35.3	19.8
			9.5	69.7	15.3	5.5
24 Textile—jute						
	Rural	Urban	1.6	69.2	26.0	3.2
			3.2	75.2	19.2	2.4
	Rural	Urban	1.4	80.1	13.7	4.8
			1.4	92.4	4.9	1.2
	Rural	Urban	1.3	85.7	9.3	3.7
			0.6	95.5	3.5	0.4

TABLE 101 —SEX RATIO OF URBAN POPULATION BY SIX URBAN CLASSES IN THE STATES OF INDIA, 1971
(Provisional figures)

(females per 1000 males)

States	Total Urban	Urban Classes					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1 Andhra Pradesh	951	941	948	946	967	972	869
2 Assam	754	641	712	782	778	772	736
3 Bihar	806	775	822	814	873	838	762
4 Gujarat	895	864	922	919	921	938	827
5 Haryana	852	890	831	853	863	883	858
6. 11 machal Pradesh	750	—	666	649	788	773	823
7 Jammu & Kashmir	856	847	—	871	870	898	827
8 Kerala	998	979	1 012	1 016	1 013	1 008	719
9 Madhya Pradesh	869	853	867	874	901	893	837
10 Maharashtra	820	782	860	901	918	915	842
11 Mysore	914	891	899	936	958	945	912
12 Nagaland	468	—	—	510	440	—	—
13 Orissa	846	786	850	865	883	908	989
14 Punjab	856	830	862	881	872	878	885
15 Rajasthan	875	854	867	893	895	907	843
16. Tamil Nadu	951	928	959	972	987	964	904
17 Uttar Pradesh	821	812	835	838	836	805	742
18 West Bengal	755	709	871	881	868	866	860

**Section IX: Characteristics of Urban Classes
by Population Size**

TABLE 98.—DENSITY (POP. PER SQ. MILE)
ACCORDING TO THE SIZE-CLASS OF TOWNS, 1961

<i>Class</i>	<i>(Density-pop. per sq. mile)</i>
I	13,967
II	7,698
III	4,972
IV	2,400
V	1,795
VI	1,476
All Classes	5,309

TABLE 99.—AVERAGE SIZE OF TOWN IN DIFFERENT
SIZE-CLASSES OF TOWNS IN 1961 AND 1971

<i>Size-Class</i>	<i>Average Size of Town</i>	
	1961	1971
I	328,261	401,524
II	68,560	66,783
III	30,404	30,609
IV	13,780	14,068
V	7,481	7,537
VI	3,321	3,128
All Classes	29,236	37,243

TABLE 100.—SEX RATIO ACCORDING TO THE SIZE-
CLASS OF THE TOWN, 1961 AND 1971

(females per 1000 males)

<i>Size-Class</i>	1961	1971
I	799	824
II	868	885
III	885	902
IV	914	911
V	902	900
VI	854	860
All Classes	845	859

TABLE 102—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION ACCORDING TO SIZE-CLASS OF TOWN, INDIA, 1961

Urban size- class	Age Groups					Age not stated
	Total	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	
PERSONS						
I	38,176,907 (100 00)	14,357,938 (37 61)	14,132,911 (37 02)	8,022,924 (21 02)	1,653,606 (4 33)	9,528 (0 02)
II	9,387,431 (100 00)	3,696,220 (39 37)	3,263,133 (34 76)	1,955,220 (20 86)	467,159 (4 98)	2,699 (0 03)
III	14,625,007 (100 00)	5,868,054 (40 12)	4,994,607 (34 14)	3,012,295 (20 73)	729,312 (4 99)	1,649 (0 02)
IV	10,258,609 (100 00)	4,205,253 (40 87)	3,393,294 (32 98)	2,141,592 (20 82)	545,629 (5 30)	2,901 (0 03)
V	5,709,723 (100 00)	2,346,137 (41 09)	1,873,772 (32 82)	1,184,096 (20 74)	304,037 (5 32)	1,683 (0 03)
VI	745,864 (100 00)	304,962 (40 89)	250,784 (33 62)	150,813 (20 22)	38,869 (5 21)	436 (0 06)
All Classes	78,935,603 (100 00)	30,778,564 (38 99)	27,908,591 (35 36)	16,489,940 (20 89)	3,738,612 (4 74)	20,896 (0 02)
MALES						
I	21,223,162 (100 00)	7,451,327 (35 11)	8,063,862 (38 00)	4,347,773 (22 84)	854,894 (4 03)	5,306 (0 02)
II	5,024,138 (100 00)	1,911,276 (38 04)	1,765,286 (35 14)	1,113,247 (22 16)	232,980 (4 64)	1,369 (0 02)
III	7,760,591 (100 00)	3,036,359 (39 13)	2,673,016 (34 44)	1,689,905 (21 76)	360,564 (4 65)	1,747 (0 02)
IV	5,376,225 (100 00)	2,176,880 (40 49)	1,766,144 (32 85)	1,161,495 (21 60)	270,189 (5 03)	1,117 (0 03)
V	3,002,696 (100 00)	1,217,143 (40 54)	984,412 (32 78)	648,332 (21 59)	151,905 (5 06)	904 (0 03)
VI	402,274 (100 00)	158,047 (39 29)	137,584 (34 20)	86,053 (21 39)	20,372 (5 06)	218 (0 05)
All Classes	42,789,106 (100 00)	15,951,032 (37 28)	15,390,304 (35 97)	9,545,805 (22 31)	1,890,904 (4 42)	11,061 (0 02)
FEMALES						
I	16,953,745 (100 00)	6,906,611 (40 74)	6,069,049 (35 80)	3,175,151 (18 73)	798,712 (4 71)	4,222 (0 02)
II	4,363,273 (100 00)	1,784,944 (40 91)	1,497,847 (34 33)	844,973 (19 36)	234,179 (5 37)	1,330 (0 03)
III	6,867,416 (100 00)	2,831,695 (41 23)	2,321,681 (33 81)	1,343,390 (19 56)	368,748 (5 37)	1,902 (0 03)
IV	4,912,444 (100 00)	2,028,373 (41 29)	1,627,150 (33 12)	980,097 (19 95)	275,440 (5 61)	1,384 (0 03)
V	2,707,029 (100 00)	1,128,994 (41 71)	889,360 (32 85)	535,764 (19 79)	152,132 (5 62)	779 (0 03)
VI	343,590 (100 00)	146,915 (42 76)	113,200 (32 95)	64,760 (18 85)	18,497 (5 38)	218 (0 06)
All Classes	36,347,497 (100 00)	14,327,532 (41 02)	12,518,287 (34 63)	6,944,135 (19 21)	1,847,708 (5 11)	9,835 (0 03)

NOTE: Figures in brackets denote percentages.

TABLE 104—DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL WORKERS IN EACH AGE GROUP BY 9 INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES AND SIX URBAN CLASSES, INDIA, 1961

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	Total	12 659,370	1.55	0.77	1.53	5.13	27.40	3.59	17.42	9.90	32.71
	0-14	274,155	3.02	1.91	2.52	15.27	25.51	3.12	11.13	2.51	35.01
	15-34	6,806,574	1.16	0.69	1.42	4.96	29.26	3.56	15.85	10.23	32.87
	35-59	5,055,932	1.65	0.76	1.59	4.54	25.99	3.64	18.89	10.38	32.56
	60+	521 022	5.04	1.19	1.81	7.65	17.80	3.73	27.04	4.78	30.96
	A N S	1,677	1.90	1.07	1.73	3.88	21.05	3.94	13.66	9.24	43.53
II	Total	3,029,374	4.43	2.73	3.71	8.91	21.02	4.47	16.47	8.12	30.14
	0-14	87,167	5.32	5.60	4.67	19.24	19.58	5.92	9.50	1.81	28.36
	15-34	1,567,356	3.34	2.57	3.80	8.64	22.90	4.75	14.79	8.73	30.48
	35-59	1,216,612	4.35	2.65	3.69	8.24	19.74	4.14	18.14	8.42	30.13
	60+	157,816	11.44	3.26	2.45	11.19	13.01	3.51	24.15	3.20	27.79
	A N S	423	4.02	1.89	2.36	6.62	17.97	4.96	9.46	6.62	46.10
III	Total	4 843,522	8.17	4.70	2.83	9.73	17.31	4.05	16.06	7.11	30.04
	0-14	170,450	9.46	8.13	5.76	20.70	15.59	3.77	8.59	1.50	26.50
	15-34	2,481,712	6.64	4.58	2.79	9.53	19.06	4.40	14.74	7.79	30.47
	35-59	1,923,632	8.72	4.54	2.68	8.80	16.13	3.78	17.65	7.33	30.37
	60+	267,141	17.60	4.68	2.54	11.36	10.58	2.81	21.67	2.69	26.07
	A N S	587	9.20	5.79	3.75	6.64	13.46	4.60	11.07	6.47	39.02
IV	Total	3,584,970	15.56	8.80	3.69	11.82	11.16	3.13	14.12	5.19	26.53
	0-14	158,792	15.91	14.08	8.93	20.79	9.60	1.80	6.63	0.95	21.81
	15-34	1,797,306	13.20	8.87	3.65	11.78	12.60	3.47	13.17	5.81	27.45
	35-59	1,405,859	16.49	8.29	3.26	10.79	10.21	3.00	15.59	5.44	26.83
	60+	222,490	27.93	7.58	2.98	12.64	6.66	2.17	17.76	1.69	20.53
	A N S	523	17.21	8.60	2.10	8.22	10.52	2.29	11.47	5.55	34.04

(contd.)

TABLE 103 (contd.)

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total Population			Total Workers			Working force participation rate		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
V	Total	5,709,725	3,002,696	2,707,029	2,047,534	1,578,734	468,800	35.86	52.58	17.32
	0-14	2,346,137	1,217,143	1,128,994	96,487	62,552	33,935	4.11	5.14	3.00
	15-34	1,873,772	984,412	889,360	1,026,357	796,340	230,017	54.77	80.89	25.86
	35-59	1,184,096	648,332	535,764	793,602	614,274	179,328	67.02	94.74	33.47
	60+	304,037	151,905	152,132	130,721	105,290	25,431	43.00	69.31	16.72
	A.N.S.	1,683	904	779	367	278	89	21.80	30.75	11.42
VI	Total	745,864	402,274	343,590	265,164	213,510	51,654	35.55	53.08	15.03
	0-14	304,962	158,047	146,915	11,374	7,686	3,688	3.72	4.86	2.51
	15-34	250,784	137,584	113,200	136,291	110,438	25,853	54.34	80.27	22.84
	35-59	150,813	86,053	64,760	100,635	81,373	19,262	66.72	94.56	29.74
	60+	38,869	20,372	18,497	16,796	13,956	2,840	43.21	68.50	15.35
	A.N.S.	436	218	218	68	57	11	15.60	26.14	5.04
All Classes (total urban)										
Total	Total	78,936,603	42,789,106	36,147,497	26,429,934	22,419,892	4,010,042	33.48	52.40	11.09
	0-14	30,778,564	15,351,032	14,827,532	798,425	565,910	232,515	2.59	3.55	1.57
	15-34	27,908,591	15,390,304	12,518,287	13,815,606	11,838,383	1,977,223	49.50	76.92	15.79
	35-59	16,489,940	9,545,805	6,944,135	10,496,272	8,907,489	1,588,783	63.65	93.31	22.88
	60+	3,738,612	1,890,904	1,847,708	1,315,986	1,105,076	210,910	35.20	58.44	11.41
	A.N.S.	20,896	11,061	9,835	3,645	3,034	611	17.44	27.43	6.21

TABLE 105—DISTRIBUTION OF MALE WORKERS IN EACH INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY BY BROAD AGE GROUPS, INDIA, 1961

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	0-14	1 89	3 60	5 32	3 26	5 41	1 90	1 53	1 18	0 51	2 07
	15-34	54 24	38 14	48 03	50 10	51 06	57 69	52 88	49 67	55 45	54 85
	35-59	39 87	42 82	39 19	41 73	36 59	37 76	41 10	42 78	42 08	39 39
	60+	4 00	15 44	7 46	4 91	6 94	2 65	4 49	6 17	1 96	3 69
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
II	0-14	2 42	3 14	5 91	3 69	4 85	2 53	2 60	1 66	0 58	2 39
	15-34	52 18	38 04	48 86	49 51	48 83	56 93	54 60	47 53	55 63	53 06
	35-59	40 22	43 77	38 19	42 70	38 96	37 37	38 40	43 47	41 74	39 85
	60+	5 18	15 05	7 04	3 10	7 36	3 17	4 40	7 34	2 05	4 70
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
III	0-14	2 91	3 55	6 04	7 14	5 86	2 83	2 47	1 83	0 71	2 76
	15-34	51 74	39 77	49 65	49 50	49 21	56 75	55 57	48 00	56 25	52 89
	35-59	39 79	42 67	37 89	38 08	37 43	37 07	37 94	42 97	40 97	39 74
	60+	5 56	14 01	6 42	5 28	7 50	3 35	4 02	7 20	2 07	4 61
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
IV	0-14	3 76	3 99	7 21	11 19	6 11	3 35	2 05	1 99	0 76	3 23
	15-34	50 54	40 78	50 75	49 10	48 92	57 08	55 59	47 89	56 07	52 90
	35-59	39 26	42 07	35 96	34 49	37 25	35 89	37 90	42 53	41 17	39 20
	60+	6 44	13 16	6 08	5 22	7 72	3 68	4 46	7 59	2 00	4 67
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00

(contd.)

TABLE 104 (contd.)

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
V	Total	2,047,334	18.81	8.94	3.96	12.18	8.65	2.83	13.89	4.17	26.57
	0-14	96,487	20.85	14.79	9.02	20.14	7.27	1.59	5.78	0.90	19.66
	15-34	1,026,357	16.52	9.11	3.85	12.07	9.64	3.08	13.03	4.70	28.00
	35-59	793,602	19.67	8.26	3.65	11.28	8.00	2.80	15.37	4.31	26.66
	60+	130,721	30.13	7.47	2.98	12.63	5.96	1.91	17.66	1.50	19.76
	A.N.S.	367	14.71	5.45	3.27	10.08	9.27	2.18	12.26	2.73	40.05
VI	Total	265,154	23.67	5.07	3.08	9.31	7.26	2.97	13.35	4.02	31.27
	0-14	11,374	33.53	9.63	8.73	13.57	5.09	1.56	4.71	1.03	22.15
	15-34	136,291	21.31	5.11	2.78	8.85	7.89	3.15	12.14	4.60	34.17
	35-59	100,635	23.86	4.60	2.95	9.09	6.93	3.02	15.29	4.01	30.25
	60+	16,796	34.95	4.42	2.46	11.59	5.62	2.11	17.35	1.42	20.08
	A.N.S.	68	25.00	1.47	5.88	5.88	4.41	4.41	14.71	1.47	36.77
All Classes (total urban)											
Total		26,429,934	6.55	3.48	2.52	7.90	20.96	3.65	16.30	8.04	30.60
0-14		798,425	9.80	7.73	5.60	18.43	17.08	3.09	8.78	1.69	27.80
15-34		13,815,606	5.30	3.34	2.42	7.65	22.87	3.80	14.93	8.58	31.11
35-59		10,496,272	6.89	3.29	2.42	7.14	19.81	3.57	17.83	8.41	30.64
60+		1,315,986	15.10	3.89	2.36	10.22	12.55	3.05	22.98	3.27	26.58
A.N.S.		3,645	7.24	3.46	2.41	5.93	16.46	3.76	12.32	7.16	41.26

TABLE 106.—DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE WORKERS IN EACH INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY BY BROAD AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	0-14	4 49	6 08	5 50	5 95	8 52	4 00	4 93	1 52	2 17	3 67
	15-34	49 90	45 72	49 13	49 99	53 92	52 98	57 32	35 93	60 00	49 49
	35-59	40 58	41 11	40 58	39 40	33 01	39 98	35 43	52 30	35 15	41 82
	60+	5 03	7 09	4 79	4 66	4 55	3 04	2 32	10 25	2 68	5 02
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
II	0-14	5 39	4 56	5 93	3 42	8 17	4 48	12 08	1 62	4 23	4 18
	15-34	49 38	42 68	48 70	62 81	52 00	49 90	57 44	30 15	57 26	48 92
	35-59	39 86	44 78	40 26	32 18	34 48	41 83	28 57	56 00	36 10	41 59
	60+	5 37	7 98	5 11	1 59	5 35	3 79	1 91	12 23	2 41	5 31
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
III	0-14	6 29	5 47	6 16	7 19	9 78	6 45	10 09	2 56	3 06	4 58
	15-34	48 97	46 70	50 46	54 81	51 53	53 33	57 34	34 06	52 33	47 96
	35-59	39 40	41 61	38 97	34 67	33 74	36 64	30 36	52 68	41 49	41 92
	60+	5 34	6 22	4 41	3 33	4 95	3 38	2 21	10 70	3 12	5 54
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
IV	0-14	6 80	5 87	6 96	8 38	9 88	7 34	7 80	3 08	2 92	5 31
	15-34	48 74	46 84	50 43	52 22	51 54	53 02	54 83	34 97	57 18	47 72
	35-59	39 07	41 16	38 04	35 41	33 59	35 77	34 78	51 80	37 05	41 53
	60+	5 39	6 13	4 57	3 99	4 99	3 87	2 59	10 15	2 85	5 42
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00

(cont.)

TABLE 106.—DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE WORKERS IN EACH INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY BY BROAD AGE GROUP, INDIA, 1961

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES

Urban size class	Age groups	Total workers	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	0-14	4 49	6 08	5 50	5 95	8 52	4 00	4 93	1 52	2 17	3 67
	15-34	49 90	45 72	49 13	49 99	53 92	52 98	57 32	35 93	60 00	49 49
	35-59	40 58	41 11	40 58	39 40	33 01	39 98	35 43	52 30	35 15	41 82
	60+	5 03	7 09	4 79	4 66	4 55	3 04	2 32	10 25	2 68	5 02
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
II	0-14	5 39	4 56	5 93	3 42	8 17	4 48	12 08	1 62	4 23	4 18
	15-34	49 38	42 68	48 70	62 81	52 00	49 90	57 44	30 15	57 26	48 92
	35-59	39 86	44 78	40 26	32 18	34 48	41 83	28 57	56 00	36 10	41 59
	60+	5 37	7 98	5 11	1 59	5 35	3 79	1 91	12 23	2 41	5 31
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
III	0-14	6 29	5 47	6 16	7 19	9 78	6 45	10 09	2 56	3 06	4 58
	15-34	48 97	46 70	50 46	54 81	51 53	53 33	57 34	34 06	52 33	47 96
	35-59	39 40	41 61	38 97	34 67	33 74	36 64	30 36	52 68	41 49	41 92
	60+	5 14	6 22	4 41	3 33	4 95	3 58	2 21	10 70	3 12	5 54
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00
IV	0-14	6 40	5 87	6 96	8 38	9 88	7 34	7 80	3 08	2 92	5 31
	15-34	48 74	46 84	50 43	52 22	51 54	53 02	54 83	34 97	57 18	47 72
	35-59	39 07	41 16	38 04	35 41	33 59	35 77	34 78	51 80	37 05	41 55
	60+	5 39	6 13	4 57	3 99	4 99	3 87	2 59	10 15	2 85	5 42
	%	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00	100 00

(contd.)

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)

Urban class	Age groups	Total workers	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	Total	11,302,145	131	0.51	1.52	3.82	28.94	3.62	18.46	10.80	31.02
	0-14	213,212	2.50	1.44	2.63	10.94	29.09	2.94	13.47	2.90	34.09
	15-34	6,129,379	0.92	0.45	1.40	3.60	30.78	3.53	16.91	11.04	31.37
	35-59	4,505,269	1.41	0.50	1.59	3.50	27.41	3.73	19.82	11.40	30.64
	60+	452,835	5.04	0.95	1.86	6.61	19.16	4.05	28.43	5.30	28.60
	A.N.S.	1,450	1.45	0.55	1.86	2.62	22.48	3.93	14.62	9.86	42.63
II	Total	2,560,430	4.06	1.88	3.24	6.22	22.91	4.62	18.30	9.44	29.33
	0-14	61,905	5.27	4.59	4.95	12.47	23.94	4.96	12.59	2.26	28.97
	15-34	1,335,846	2.96	1.76	3.08	5.82	24.99	4.83	16.67	10.06	29.83
	35-59	1,029,720	4.42	1.78	3.44	6.02	21.29	4.42	19.78	9.79	29.06
	60+	132,605	11.80	2.56	2.57	8.84	14.05	3.93	25.93	3.73	26.59
	A.N.S.	354	4.52	0.56	2.26	3.67	14.97	5.93	10.45	7.91	49.73
III	Total	3,973,910	7.23	3.10	2.84	6.94	19.10	4.40	18.20	8.52	29.67
	0-14	115,742	8.81	6.42	6.96	13.97	18.53	3.73	11.43	2.06	28.09
	15-34	2,035,943	5.56	2.97	2.72	6.60	20.94	4.73	16.89	9.26	30.33
	35-59	1,581,052	7.75	2.95	2.73	6.53	17.79	4.20	19.65	8.77	29.63
	60+	220,696	18.24	3.59	2.70	9.37	11.52	3.19	23.58	3.18	24.63
	A.N.S.	477	9.23	4.82	3.56	3.98	14.89	4.61	11.74	7.97	39.20
IV	Total	2,791,163	14.24	5.86	3.95	9.17	12.69	3.67	16.58	6.50	27.34
	0-14	104,813	15.12	11.26	11.76	14.93	11.34	2.00	8.77	1.31	23.51
	15-34	1,410,437	11.49	5.89	3.83	8.88	14.34	4.04	15.70	7.21	28.62
	35-59	1,095,801	15.26	5.37	3.47	8.70	11.60	3.55	17.95	6.81	27.29
	60+	179,694	29.10	5.53	3.20	11.00	7.26	2.55	19.53	2.01	19.82
	A.N.S.	418	17.23	4.55	2.39	5.74	11.48	2.39	12.92	6.94	36.16

(cont.)

TABLE 108 — DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE WORKERS IN EACH AGE-GROUP BY 9 INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES AND SIX URBAN CLASSES, INDIA, 1961

Urban size- class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
I	Total	1,357,225	3.59	2.88	1.61	16.04	14.56	3.39	8.74	2.39	46.80
	0-14	60,943	4.85	3.52	2.13	30.43	12.98	3.72	2.96	1.16	38.25
	15-34	677,205	3.29	2.84	1.61	17.33	15.46	3.89	6.30	2.87	46.41
	35-59	550,663	3.63	2.88	1.56	13.05	14.35	2.96	11.27	2.07	48.23
	60+	68,187	5.06	2.75	1.49	14.52	8.80	1.57	17.83	1.27	46.71
	A.N.S.	227	4.85	4.41	0.88	11.89	11.89	3.96	7.49	5.29	49.34
II	Total	468,944	6.42	7.36	6.24	23.62	10.72	3.69	6.49	0.92	34.54
	0-14	25,262	5.44	8.09	3.97	35.81	8.91	8.27	1.96	0.72	26.83
	15-34	231,510	5.55	7.26	7.94	24.88	10.83	4.29	3.96	1.07	34.22
	35-59	186,892	7.22	7.43	5.04	20.43	11.25	2.64	9.12	0.83	36.04
	60+	25,211	9.53	6.99	1.84	23.52	7.55	1.32	14.76	0.41	34.08
	A.N.S.	69	1.45	8.70	2.90	21.74	33.32	—	4.35	—	27.54
III	Total	869,612	12.47	11.99	2.83	22.47	9.13	2.41	6.30	0.65	31.75
	0-14	54,708	10.84	11.74	3.23	34.94	9.36	3.86	2.57	0.32	23.14
	15-34	425,769	11.89	12.35	3.17	23.64	9.94	2.82	4.38	0.70	31.11
	35-59	342,580	13.17	11.86	2.49	19.24	8.49	1.86	8.42	0.68	33.79
	60+	46,445	14.53	9.89	1.76	20.80	6.12	0.99	12.62	0.38	32.91
	A.N.S.	110	9.09	10.00	4.55	18.18	7.27	4.55	8.18	—	38.18
IV	Total	793,807	20.21	19.11	2.79	21.13	5.76	1.23	5.49	0.61	23.67
	0-14	53,979	17.44	19.56	3.44	30.70	6.21	1.42	2.49	0.26	18.48
	15-34	386,869	19.42	19.77	2.98	22.35	6.26	1.39	3.94	0.71	23.18
	35-59	310,058	21.29	18.61	2.53	18.17	5.27	1.10	7.28	0.57	25.18
	60+	42,796	22.97	16.21	2.06	19.56	4.14	0.59	10.33	0.32	23.82
	A.N.S.	105	17.14	24.76	0.95	18.10	6.67	1.91	5.71	—	24.76

(contd.)

TABLE 107 (contd)

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
V	Total	1,578,734	16.92	6.00	4.38	9.91	9.89	3.31	16.48	5.31	27.80
	0-14	62,552	19.44	11.82	12.04	16.30	8.39	1.71	7.79	1.31	21.20
	15-34	796,340	14.01	6.14	4.23	9.55	11.03	3.56	15.71	5.96	29.81
	35-59	614,274	17.97	5.35	3.97	9.47	9.15	3.33	17.85	5.48	27.43
	60+	105,290	31.38	5.29	3.24	11.34	6.49	2.23	19.45	1.83	18.75
	A.N.S.	278	14.03	3.60	3.96	8.99	9.35	2.16	12.95	3.60	41.36
VI	Total	213,510	20.33	3.57	3.21	7.23	8.10	3.44	15.73	4.93	33.46
	0-14	7,686	29.96	8.39	10.69	10.51	5.79	1.71	6.48	1.51	24.96
	15-34	110,438	17.38	3.65	2.89	6.49	8.78	3.63	14.48	5.63	37.07
	35-59	81,373	20.89	3.09	3.07	7.42	7.74	3.52	17.70	4.88	31.69
	60+	13,956	35.10	3.09	2.49	10.17	6.00	2.44	19.37	1.65	19.69
	A.N.S.	57	24.56	1.75	3.51	3.51	5.26	5.26	14.04	—	42.11
All Classes (total urban)											
Total	Total	22,419,892	5.56	2.21	2.47	5.77	22.94	3.86	18.00	9.26	29.93
	0-14	565,910	8.68	5.86	6.61	13.05	20.47	3.00	11.36	2.17	28.80
	15-34	11,838,383	4.25	2.10	2.31	5.43	24.93	3.95	16.63	9.77	30.63
	35-59	8,907,489	5.91	2.04	2.41	5.42	21.61	3.84	19.40	9.72	29.65
	60+	1,105,076	15.29	2.85	2.47	8.64	13.71	3.43	24.75	3.78	25.08
	A.N.S.	3,034	6.79	2.08	2.47	3.99	17.37	3.92	13.28	8.17	41.93

Section X: Growth of Six Classes of Towns

TABLE 109—TREND OF URBANIZATION, INDIA, 1901-71

Years	<i>Percentage of population in each size-class of town to total urban population</i>					
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
1901	22.9	11.8	16.5	22.1	20.4	6.3
1911	24.2	10.9	17.7	20.5	19.8	7.0
1921	25.3	12.4	16.9	18.9	19.0	7.4
1931	27.4	12.0	18.8	19.0	17.3	5.6
1941	35.4	11.8	17.7	16.3	15.4	3.5
1951	41.8	11.1	16.7	14.0	13.2	3.2
1961	48.4	11.9	18.5	13.0	7.2	1.0
1971	55.7	11.5	16.3	11.3	4.7	0.5

TABLE 110—DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION INTO SIX URBAN CLASSES OF TOWNS, INDIA, 1961

<i>Size-class of the town</i>	<i>No. of towns and town groups</i>	<i>Population (millions)</i>	<i>Percentage of urban population</i>
I 100,000+	113	38.18	48.36
II 50,000-100,000	138	9.39	11.89
III 20,000-50,000	484	14.63	18.53
IV 10,000-20,000	748	10.29	13.04
V 5,000-10,000	761	5.71	7.23
VI Below 5,000	218	0.74	0.95
All Classes	2,462	78.94	100.00

TABLE 108 (contd.)

Urban size-class	Age groups	Total workers	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES (Percentages)								
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
V	Total	468,800	25.17	18.86	2.55	19.84	4.50	1.20	5.18	0.31	22.39
	0-14	33,935	23.44	20.28	3.46	27.23	5.20	1.38	2.06	0.13	16.82
	15-34	230,017	25.19	19.40	2.50	20.80	4.82	1.40	3.76	0.35	21.78
	35-59	179,328	25.48	18.24	2.54	17.48	4.05	1.00	6.89	0.31	24.01
	60+	25,431	24.96	16.51	1.89	17.97	3.73	0.56	10.25	0.18	23.95
	A.N.S.	89	16.85	11.24	1.12	13.48	8.99	2.25	10.11	—	35.96
VI	Total	51,654	37.45	11.26	2.52	17.94	3.80	1.00	3.49	0.26	22.28
	0-14	3,688	40.97	12.20	4.64	19.93	3.63	1.25	1.03	0.03	16.32
	15-34	25,853	38.09	11.35	2.29	18.90	4.08	1.09	2.20	0.25	21.75
	35-59	19,262	36.41	10.99	2.46	16.17	3.43	0.89	5.12	0.32	24.16
	60+	2,840	34.19	10.99	2.32	18.59	3.77	0.49	7.40	0.28	21.97
	A.N.S.	11	27.28	—	18.18	18.18	—	—	18.18	9.09	9.09
All Classes (total urban)											
Total	Total	4,010,042	12.09	10.57	2.77	19.80	9.88	2.50	6.82	1.21	34.36
	0-14	232,515	12.53	12.26	3.13	31.50	8.93	3.33	2.49	0.54	25.39
	15-34	1,977,223	11.56	10.76	3.07	20.98	10.54	2.89	4.80	1.44	33.96
	35-59	1,588,783	12.42	10.25	2.48	15.79	9.66	2.08	9.05	1.11	36.16
	60+	210,910	14.11	9.33	1.77	18.47	6.44	1.08	13.74	0.63	34.43
	A.N.S.	611	9.49	10.31	2.12	15.55	11.95	2.95	7.53	2.13	37.97

TABLE 113 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION INTO SIX URBAN CLASSES IN THE STATES OF INDIA 1971
(Provisional figures)

States	Urban Classes					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1 Andhra Pradesh	48.39	13.35	21.28	13.08	3.68	0.22
2 Assam	9.80	19.22	27.34	27.44	13.74	2.46
3 Bihar	45.40	11.05	23.95	14.54	4.60	0.46
4 Gujarat	44.99	14.91	19.15	13.52	6.91	0.52
5 Haryana	12.82	39.75	26.06	12.54	7.84	0.99
6 Jharkhand Pradesh	—	22.90	8.79	27.17	19.65	21.49
7 Jammu & Kashmir	66.31	—	9.66	5.41	12.90	5.72
8 Kerala	42.31	13.37	31.79	10.12	2.15	0.26
9 Madhya Pradesh	45.42	9.91	18.70	14.77	10.51	0.69
10 Maharashtra	64.74	11.39	11.40	8.78	3.39	0.30
11 Mysore	49.34	9.32	15.99	19.37	4.75	1.23
12 Nagaland	—	—	41.90	58.10	—	—
13 Orissa	32.50	7.57	29.40	17.17	12.90	0.46
14 Punjab	39.97	15.56	21.82	14.41	6.84	1.40
15 Rajasthan	41.06	10.75	19.54	20.95	7.33	0.37
16 Tamil Nadu	43.81	13.53	20.89	13.37	5.96	2.44
17 Uttar Pradesh	57.07	10.77	16.74	10.36	4.83	0.23
18 West Bengal	70.25	12.32	9.77	5.15	2.40	0.11

TABLE 111.—URBAN POPULATION OF INDIA BY SIX CLASSES,
GROWTH RATE AND SEX RATIO, 1971

(Provisional figures)

<i>Urban Class</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>Population in 1971 (millions)</i>	<i>Proportion to total urban</i>	<i>Growth rate 1961-71</i>	<i>Sex ratio</i>
I 100,000 & over	142	57.02	52.41	49.35	824
II 50,000 to 99,999	198	13.22	12.15	40.86	885
III 20,000 to 49,999	617	18.88	17.36	29.10	902
IV 10,000 to 19,999	931	13.10	12.04	27.30	911
V 5,000 to 9,999	756	5.70	5.24	-0.09	900
VI Below 5,000	277	0.87	0.80	16.18	860
Total	2,921	108.79	100.00	37.83	859

TABLE 112.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION INTO
SIX URBAN CLASSES IN STATES, 1961

<i>States</i>	<i>Urban Classes</i>					
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>
Andhra Pradesh	42.66	8.48	24.24	15.82	8.74	0.06
Assam	22.25	6.41	35.69	11.70	19.44	4.51
Bihar	43.11	12.86	21.62	14.88	7.02	0.51
Gujarat	43.48	11.70	22.49	13.21	8.46	0.66
Haryana	13.90	36.77	22.84	14.85	8.24	3.40
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	23.89	25.81	28.54	21.76
Jammu & Kashmir	67.05	—	3.55	10.00	5.58	13.82
Kerala	39.26	11.52	27.63	17.49	4.10	—
Madhya Pradesh	39.06	8.22	20.60	16.19	14.52	1.41
Maharashtra	64.96	6.87	12.28	10.59	4.86	0.44
Mysore	41.27	12.58	15.95	19.77	8.05	2.38
Nagaland	—	—	—	—	100.00	—
Oissa	13.19	20.55	20.21	23.99	17.13	0.87
Punjab	40.21	11.96	24.96	10.44	9.76	2.67
Rajasthan	37.84	7.35	20.34	21.56	11.87	1.04
Tamil Nadu	41.33	16.16	20.51	14.49	6.84	0.67
Uttar Pradesh	54.43	11.76	16.65	11.01	5.92	0.23
West Bengal	56.54	17.80	17.03	5.84	2.45	0.34

TABLE 115.—DECENNIAL RATE OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION BY SIZE-CLASSES, 1961-71

States	Total urban	Decade Growth Rate (Percentages)					
		Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
ALL INDIA	378	49.4	40.9	29.1	27.3	-0.1	16.2
Andhra Pradesh	33.8	51.8	110.6	17.5	10.7	-43.7	366.0
Assam & Meghalaya	51.5	-39.5	438.3	5.3	265.1	2.1	-25.1
Bihar	44.5	52.1	24.1	60.0	41.2	-5.3	31.2
Gujarat	41.2	46.1	80.0	20.3	44.5	15.3	11.8
Haryana	35.6	25.1	46.6	54.7	14.5	29.1	-60.6
Himachal Pradesh	35.5	Nil	29.9	-50.1	42.7	-6.7	33.9
Jammu & Kashmir	42.0	40.5	—	286.1	-23.1	228.1	-41.2
Kerala	35.7	46.3	57.4	56.1	-21.6	-29.0	—
Madhya Pradesh	46.3	70.2	76.5	32.9	33.4	5.8	-28.2
Maharashtra	40.7	40.2	133.1	30.6	16.7	-1.9	-4.3
Mysore	35.1	61.5	0.1	35.4	32.4	-20.4	-30.0
Nagaland	166.6	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Orissa	63.5	303.1	-39.8	137.1	0.3	23.2	-13.4
Punjab	24.9	24.2	62.6	9.2	72.5	-12.4	-34.6
Rajasthan	38.0	49.8	102.0	32.7	34.1	-14.8	-51.9
Tamil Nadu	38.4	46.7	16.0	41.0	27.8	20.7	405.3
Uttar Pradesh	50.5	36.8	19.5	31.1	22.8	6.4	32.1
West Bengal	28.0	59.0	-11.4	-26.6	12.7	25.6	-56.6

TABLE 114.—NET INCREASE IN URBAN POPULATION BY SIZE-CLASSES, 1961-71

(In millions)

States	Total urban	Size-Class of the Town					
		Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
ALL INDIA	29.86	18.84	3.84	4.26	2.81	-0.01	0.12
Andhra Pradesh	2.12	1.39	0.59	0.26	0.10	-0.24	0.01
Assam & Meghalaya	0.47	-0.08	0.26	0.02	0.28	N	-0.01
Bihar	1.74	0.88	0.12	0.51	0.24	-0.01	0.01
Gujarat	2.19	1.07	0.50	0.24	0.31	0.07	N
Haryana	0.47	0.05	0.22	0.16	0.03	0.03	-0.03
Himachal Pradesh	0.06	0.00	0.06	-0.02	0.02	N	0.01
Jammu & Kashmir	0.25	0.16	—	0.06	-0.01	0.08	-0.03
Kerala	0.91	0.46	0.17	0.40	-0.10	-0.03	0.01
Madhya Pradesh	2.14	1.27	0.29	0.31	0.25	0.04	-0.02
Maharashtra	4.54	2.92	1.02	0.42	0.20	-0.01	N
Mysore	1.85	1.34	N	0.30	0.34	-0.09	-0.04
Nagaland	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.00
Orissa	0.70	0.44	-0.09	0.31	N	0.04	N
Punjab	0.64	0.25	0.19	0.06	0.19	-0.03	-0.02
Rajasthan	1.25	0.62	0.25	0.22	0.24	-0.06	-0.02
Tamil Nadu	3.46	1.74	0.23	0.76	0.36	0.13	0.02
Uttar Pradesh	2.89	1.90	0.22	0.49	0.24	0.04	0.01
West Bengal	2.39	2.85	-0.17	-0.39	0.06	0.05	-0.02

N stands for Negligible.

TABLE 118—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS II TOWNS (50 000-99 999)
AND POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES 1971

States	No of towns	Per cent of total	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	198	100.0	13.22	100.00
Andhra Pradesh	17	8.6	1.12	8.5
Assam	4	2.0	0.24	1.8
Bihar	9	4.6	0.62	4.7
Gujarat	17	8.6	1.12	8.5
Haryana	9	4.6	0.70	5.3
Himachal Pradesh	1	0.5	0.06	0.5
Jammu & Kashmir	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Kerala	7	3.5	0.46	3.5
Madhya Pradesh	11	5.6	0.67	5.1
Maharashtra	26	13.1	1.79	13.5
Mysore	10	5.1	0.66	5.0
Nagaland	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Orissa	2	1.0	0.14	1.0
Punjab	8	4.0	0.50	3.8
Rajasthan	7	3.5	0.49	3.7
Tamil Nadu	27	13.6	1.69	12.7
Uttar Pradesh	20	10.1	1.33	10.1
West Bengal	19	9.6	1.35	10.2
Union Territories	4	2.0	0.28	2.1

TABLE 119—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS III TOWNS (20 000-49 999)
AND POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES, 1971

States	No of towns	Per cent of total	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	617	100.0	18.89	100.00
Andhra Pradesh	60	9.7	1.79	9.5
Assam	11	1.8	0.34	1.8
Bihar	42	6.8	1.35	7.2
Gujarat	45	7.3	1.44	7.6
Haryana	14	2.2	0.46	2.4
Himachal Pradesh	1	0.2	0.02	0.1
Jammu & Kashmir	3	0.5	0.08	0.4
Kerala	40	6.5	1.10	5.8
Madhya Pradesh	39	6.3	1.27	6.7
Maharashtra	64	10.4	1.79	9.5
Mysore	39	6.3	1.14	6.0
Nagaland	1	0.2	0.02	0.1
Orissa	19	3.1	0.53	2.8
Punjab	22	3.5	0.70	3.7
Rajasthan	30	4.9	0.89	4.7
Tamil Nadu	79	12.8	2.60	13.8
Uttar Pradesh	67	10.9	2.07	11.0
West Bengal	34	5.5	1.07	5.7
Union Territories	7	1.1	0.23	1.2

TABLE 117.—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS I TOWNS (100,000 +)
IN STATES OF INDIA, 1971

States	No. of towns	Per cent of total population (in millions)	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	142	100.0	57.02	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	13	9.2	4.06	7.1
Assam	1	0.7	0.12	0.2
Bihar	11	7.7	2.57	4.5
Gujarat	7	4.9	3.38	5.9
Haryana	2	1.4	0.23	0.4
Himachal Pradesh	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Jammu & Kashmir	2	1.4	0.56	1.0
Kerala	5	3.5	1.47	2.6
Madhya Pradesh	11	7.7	3.08	5.4
Maharashtra	17	12.1	10.17	17.8
Mysore	11	7.7	3.51	6.2
Nagaland	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Orissa	4	2.8	0.59	1.0
Punjab	4	2.8	1.28	2.3
Rajasthan	7	4.9	1.86	3.3
Tamil Nadu	17	12.1	5.45	9.6
Uttar Pradesh	22	15.5	7.06	12.4
West Bengal	5	3.5	7.68	13.4
Union Territories	3	2.1	3.96	6.9

TABLE 116.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND URBAN
POPULATION OF INDIA IN STATES, 1971

(Provisional figures)

States	No. of towns	Per cent of total population (in millions)	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
INDIA	2,921	100.0	108.79	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	207	7.1	8.40	7.7
Assam	75	2.6	1.25	1.1
Bihar	161	5.5	5.65	5.2
Gujarat	217	7.4	7.51	6.9
Haryana	65	2.2	1.77	1.6
Himachal Pradesh	35	1.2	.24	0.2
Jammu & Kashmir	45	1.5	.84	0.8
Kerala	88	3.0	3.47	3.2
Madhya Pradesh	242	8.3	6.77	6.2
Maharashtra	289	9.9	15.70	14.4
Mysore	231	7.9	7.11	6.5
Nagaland	3	0.1	.05	0.1
Orissa	80	2.8	1.81	1.7
Punjab	108	3.7	3.21	3.0
Rajasthan	157	5.4	4.53	4.1
Tamil Nadu	443	15.2	12.45	11.5
Uttar Pradesh	293	10.0	12.37	11.5
West Bengal	137	4.7	10.93	10.0
Union Territories	45	1.5	4.72	4.3

TABLE 122—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS VI TOWNS (BELOW 5,000)
AND POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES, 1971

States	No of towns	Per cent of total	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	277	100.0	0.866	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	5	1.8	0.018	2.1
Assam	9	3.3	0.031	3.6
Bihar	7	2.5	0.026	3.0
Gujarat	9	3.3	0.039	4.5
Haryana	5	1.8	0.017	2.0
Himachal Pradesh	21	7.6	0.052	6.0
Jammu & Kashmir	20	7.2	0.048	5.5
Kerala	2	0.7	0.009	1.0
Madhya Pradesh	12	4.3	0.047	5.4
Maharashtra	14	5.1	0.047	5.4
Mysore	26	9.3	0.088	10.2
Nagaland	0	0.0	0.000	0.0
Orissa	2	0.7	0.008	0.9
Punjab	12	4.3	0.045	5.2
Rajasthan	4	1.4	0.016	1.8
Tamil Nadu	103	37.3	0.304	35.2
Uttar Pradesh	13	4.7	0.029	3.4
West Bengal	3	1.1	0.013	1.5
Union Territories	10	3.6	0.028	3.3

TABLE 123—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN
CLASS I (100 000+) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Per cent of Urban Population in Class I Towns		
	1951	1961	1971
INDIA	41.8	48.4	55.7
Andhra Pradesh	32.5	42.7	48.4
Assam	Nil	Nil	9.8
Bihar	37.1	43.1	45.4
Gujarat	38.1	43.5	45.0
Haryana	15.7	13.9	12.8
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—
Jammu & Kashmir	54.8	67.1	66.3
Kerala	36.5	39.3	42.3
Madhya Pradesh	33.2	39.1	45.4
Maharashtra	50.4	65.0	64.7
Mysore	36.4	41.3	49.3
Nagaland	Nil	Nil	Nil
Orissa	17.3	13.2	32.5
Punjab	34.8	40.2	40.0
Rajasthan	26.6	37.8	41.1
Tamil Nadu	37.7	41.3	43.8
Uttar Pradesh	45.2	54.4	57.1
West Bengal	57.5	56.5	70.3

Note: The figures for the States for 1971 are provisional

TABLE 121.—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS V TOWNS (5,000-9,999)
AND POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES, 1971

States	No. of towns	Per cent of total	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	756	100.0	5.70	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	37	4.9	0.31	5.4
Assam	24	3.2	0.17	3.0
Bihar	34	4.5	0.26	4.6
Gujarat	68	9.0	0.52	9.1
Haryana	20	2.6	0.14	2.5
Himachal Pradesh	7	0.9	0.05	0.9
Jammu & Kashmir	17	2.2	0.11	1.9
Kerala	9	1.2	0.07	1.2
Madhya Pradesh	95	12.6	0.71	12.5
Maharashtra	70	9.3	0.53	9.3
Mysore	46	6.1	0.34	6.0
Nagaland	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Orissa	30	4.0	0.23	4.0
Punjab	29	3.8	0.22	3.9
Rajasthan	41	5.4	0.33	5.8
Tamil Nadu	100	13.3	0.74	13.0
Uttar Pradesh	81	10.7	0.60	10.5
West Bengal	35	4.6	0.26	4.6
Union Territories	13	1.7	0.10	1.8

TABLE 120.—DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS IV TOWNS (10,000-19,999)
AND POPULATION IN DIFFERENT STATES, 1971

States	No. of towns	Per cent of total	Urban population (in millions)	Per cent of total urban population
ALL INDIA	931	100.0	13.10	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	75	8.1	1.10	8.4
Assam	26	2.8	0.34	2.6
Bihar	58	6.2	0.82	6.3
Gujarat	71	7.6	1.02	7.9
Haryana	15	1.6	0.22	1.7
Himachal Pradesh	5	0.5	0.07	0.5
Jammu & Kashmir	3	0.3	0.05	0.4
Kerala	25	2.7	0.35	2.7
Madhya Pradesh	74	8.0	1.00	7.6
Maharashtra	98	10.5	1.38	10.5
Mysore	99	10.6	1.38	10.5
Nagaland	2	0.2	0.03	0.2
Orissa	23	2.5	0.31	2.3
Punjab	33	3.5	0.46	3.5
Rajasthan	68	7.3	0.95	7.2
Tamil Nadu	117	12.6	1.66	12.7
Uttar Pradesh	90	9.7	1.28	9.8
West Bengal	41	4.4	0.56	4.3
Union Territories	8	0.9	0.12	0.9

TABLE 126.—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CLASS IV (10 000-19,999) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Per cent of Urban Population in Class IV Towns		
	1951	1961	1971
ALL INDIA	14.0	13.0	11.3
Andhra Pradesh	20.3	15.3	13.1
Assam	—	—	27.4
Bihar	16.4	14.9	14.3
Gujarat	11.7	13.2	13.5
Haryana	16.0	14.9	12.5
Himachal Pradesh	8.8	25.8	27.2
Jammu & Kashmir	10.5	10.0	5.4
Kerala	21.4	17.5	10.1
Madhya Pradesh	15.3	16.2	14.8
Maharashtra	12.5	10.6	8.8
Mysore	17.6	19.8	19.4
Nagaland	—	—	58.1
Orissa	18.2	28.0	17.2
Punjab	14.4	10.4	14.4
Rajasthan	15.9	21.6	21.0
Tamil Nadu	15.3	14.5	13.4
Uttar Pradesh	11.4	11.0	10.4
West Bengal	8.9	5.8	5.2

Note The figures for the States for 1971 are provisional

TABLE 127.—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CLASS V (5,000-9,999) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Per cent of Urban Population in Class V Towns			
	1951	1961	1971	
ALL INDIA	13.2	7.2	4.7	
Andhra Pradesh	15.4	8.7	3.7	
Assam	—	—	13.7	
Bihar	7.8	7.0	4.6	
Gujarat	18.5	8.5	6.9	
Haryana	12.5	8.2	7.8	
Himachal Pradesh	29.8	28.5	19.7	
Jammu & Kashmir	10.3	5.6	12.9	
Kerala	9.9	4.1	2.2	
Madhya Pradesh	16.6	14.5	10.5	
Maharashtra	14.8	4.9	3.4	
Mysore	21.1	8.1	4.8	
Nagaland	—	100.0	—	
Orissa	30.0	17.1	12.9	
Punjab	13.2	9.8	6.8	
Rajasthan	21.7	11.9	7.3	
Tamil Nadu	9.5	6.8	6.0	
Uttar Pradesh	13.9	5.9	4.8	
West Bengal	2.2	2.5	2.4	

TABLE 125.—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CLASS III (20,000-49,999) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Per cent of Urban Population in Class III Towns		
	1951	1961	1971
ALL INDIA	16.7	18.5	16.3
Andhra Pradesh	16.7	24.2	21.3
Assam	—	—	27.3
Bihar	18.4	21.6	24.0
Gujarat	22.1	22.5	19.2
Haryana	25.8	22.8	26.1
Madhya Pradesh	30.0	23.9	8.8
Jammu & Kashmir	—	3.6	9.7
Kerala	17.9	27.6	31.8
Madhya Pradesh	18.6	20.6	18.7
Maharashtra	10.8	12.3	11.4
Mysore	12.3	16.0	16.0
Nagaland	—	—	41.9
Orissa	23.2	20.3	29.4
Punjab	20.3	25.0	21.8
Rajasthan	19.1	20.3	19.5
Tamil Nadu	23.5	20.5	20.9
Uttar Pradesh	14.4	16.7	16.7
West Bengal	16.1	17.0	9.8

TABLE 124.—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CLASS II (50,000-99,999) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Per cent of Urban Population in Class II Towns		
	1951	1961	1971
ALL INDIA	11.1	11.9	11.5
Andhra Pradesh	12.8	8.5	13.4
Assam	—	—	19.2
Bihar	18.8	12.9	11.1
Gujarat	6.8	11.7	14.9
Haryana	24.7	36.8	39.8
Madhya Pradesh	—	—	22.9
Jammu & Kashmir	16.7	—	—
Kerala	11.2	11.5	13.4
Madhya Pradesh	11.3	8.2	9.9
Maharashtra	9.9	6.9	11.4
Mysore	8.7	12.6	9.3
Nagaland	—	—	—
Orissa	10.5	20.6	7.6
Punjab	11.9	12.0	15.6
Rajasthan	8.9	7.4	10.8
Tamil Nadu	12.6	16.2	13.5
Uttar Pradesh	9.0	11.8	10.8
West Bengal	14.7	17.8	12.3

Note The figures for the States for 1971 are provisional

TABLE 130—CONTRIBUTION OF TOWNS WITH POPULATION OF 20,000 AND OVER AND THOSE WITH POPULATION BELOW 20,000 TO TOTAL INCREASE IN URBAN POPULATION, 1961-71

States	Total increase in urban population 1961-71 (in '000)	Total increase in the population of towns 20,000+ 1961-71 (in '000)	Total increase in the population of towns below 20,000 1961-71 (in '000)	Per cent increase in towns 20,000+	Per cent increase in towns below 20,000
ALL INDIA	29,857	26,933	2,924	90.2	9.8
Andhra Pradesh	2,121	2,241	-120	105.7	-5.7
Assam	470	193	277	41.1	58.9
Bihar	1,740	1,508	233	86.7	13.3
Gujarat	2,190	1,805	385	82.4	17.6
Haryana	466	433	33	92.9	7.1
Himachal Pradesh	63	34	29	54.0	46.0
Jammu & Kashmir	249	211	38	84.7	15.3
Kerala	911	1,029	-118	113.0	-13.0
Madhya Pradesh	2,143	1,872	271	87.4	12.6
Maharashtra	4,541	4,357	184	95.9	4.1
Mysore	1,848	1,635	213	88.5	11.5
Nagaland	32	21	11	65.6	34.4
Orissa	704	661	43	93.9	6.1
Punjab	640	500	140	78.1	21.9
Rajasthan	1,248	1,082	166	86.7	13.3
Tamil Nadu	3,456	2,724	732	78.8	21.2
Uttar Pradesh	2,889	2,608	281	96.3	3.7
West Bengal	2,388	2,287	101	95.8	4.2

TABLE 129.—CONTRIBUTION OF CLASS I (100,000+) TOWNS TO THE NET INCREASE IN URBAN POPULATION, 1961-71

States	Total increase in urban population 1961-71 (in '000)	Total increase in the population of Class I towns (in '000)	Percentage increase in population in Class I towns to total urban population
INDIA	29,857	18,840	63.1
Andhra Pradesh	2,121	1,386	65.3
Assam ¹	470	-80	-17.0
Bihar	1,740	879	50.5
Gujarat	2,190	1,065	48.6
Haryana	466	46	9.9
Himachal Pradesh	63	—	0.0
Jammu & Kashmir	249	161	64.7
Kerala	911	464	50.9
Madhya Pradesh	2,143	1,268	59.2
Maharashtra	4,541	2,916	64.2
Mysore	1,848	1,337	72.3
Nagaland	32	—	0.0
Orissa	704	443	62.9
Punjab	640	249	38.9
Rajasthan	1,248	618	49.5
Tamil Nadu	3,456	1,736	50.2
Uttar Pradesh	2,889	1,899	65.7
West Bengal ²	2,388	2,848	119.2

1. In 1961 Shillong M (72,438), Shillong Cantonment (11,348), Nongthymai (10,084) and Mawlai (8,528) together constituted a town-group and shown in Class I. But in 1971 these towns have been classified according to their own individual population size.

2. The net addition to the Class I population is more than the total net addition in the total urban population of West Bengal because there is a decrease in the population of some towns in other classes.

TABLE 128.—PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CLASS VI (BELOW 5,000) TOWNS, 1951-71

States	Percent of Urban Population in Class VI Towns		
	1951	1961	1971
ALL INDIA	3.2	1.0	0.5
Andhra Pradesh	2.3	0.1	0.2
Assam	—	—	2.5
Bihar	1.5	0.5	0.5
Gujarat	2.9	0.7	0.5
Haryana	5.3	3.4	1.0
Himachal Pradesh	31.4	21.8	21.5
Jammu & Kashmir	7.6	13.8	5.7
Kerala	3.2	—	0.3
Madhya Pradesh	4.9	1.4	0.7
Maharashtra	1.7	0.4	0.3
Mysore	3.8	2.4	1.2
Nagaland	100.0	—	—
Orissa	0.8	0.9	0.5
Punjab	5.4	2.7	1.4
Rajasthan	7.7	1.0	0.4
Tamil Nadu	1.4	0.7	2.4
Uttar Pradesh	6.1	0.2	0.2
West Bengal	0.6	0.3	0.1

Note : The figures for the States for 1971 are provisional

TABLE 131 (contd)

Name of the State	No of towns with growth rate of above 50% during 1961-71		Total population 1971
	No	Size-class	
Himachal Pradesh	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	1	III	21,251
	1	IV	10,165
	1	V	8,966
	1	VI	3,691
	4	Total	44,073
Jammu & Kashmir	1	I	155,249
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	2	IV	33,626
	3	V	20,619
	4	VI	11,203
	10	Total	220,697
Kerala	3	I	1,182,161
	7	II	69,736
	9	III	261,239
	1	IV	16,270
	—	V	—
	1	VI	4,749
	15	Total	1,533,155
Madhya Pradesh	6	I	768,214
	4	II	232,881
	12	III	395,695
	12	IV	133,472
	8	V	62,981
	1	VI	1,212
	43	Total	1,614,455
Maharashtra	6	I	922,045
	8	II	540,105
	9	III	267,710
	12	IV	164,789
	4	V	32,474
	2	VI	7,356
	41	Total	1,934,479
Mysore	5	I	850,221
	4	II	224,379
	4	III	115,665
	6	IV	94,119
	3	V	19,410
	1	VI	4,383
	23	Total	1,308,237

(con. d.)

TABLE 131.—GROWTH OF POPULATION IN RAPIDLY GROWING (50% AND ABOVE) TOWNS BY SIZE-CLASSES, 1971

Name of the State	No. of towns with growth rate of above 50% during 1961-71		Total population 1971
	No.	Size-class	
ALL INDIA	65	I	12,560,178
	40	II	2,404,261
	98	III	2,999,929
	105	IV	1,561,946
	48	V	355,120
	22	VI	72,111
	378	Total	19,953,545
Andhra Pradesh	3	I	330,994
	3	II	202,881
	4	III	164,765
	9	IV	140,981
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	19	Total	889,621
Assam	—	I	—
	1	II	55,392
	6	III	186,286
	7	IV	94,215
	4	V	29,746
	1	VI	3,929
	19	Total	369,568
Bihar	7	I	207,244
	1	II	9,378
	4	III	84,119
	6	IV	103,971
	1	V	8,713
	—	VI	—
	19	Total	413,425
Gujarat	3	I	1,239,389
	2	II	102,036
	4	III	135,024
	7	IV	107,639
	1	V	6,741
	1	VI	4,280
	18	Total	1,595,109
Haryana	—	I	—
	2	II	142,904
	5	III	137,513
	4	IV	65,213
	2	V	12,522
	—	VI	—
	13	Total	358,152

(contd.)

TABLE 131 (contd)

Name of the State	No of towns with growth rate of above 50% during 1951-71		Total population 1971
	No.	Size-class	
West Bengal	15	I	1,109,368
	4	II	171,141
	4	III	126,662
	4	IV	59,752
	2	V	16,679
	—	VI	—
	29	Total	1,433,602
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	1	III	26,212
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	1	Total	26,212
Chandigarh	1	I	218,807
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	1	Total	218,807
Delhi	3	I	3,629,842
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	3	Total	3,629,842
Goa, Daman and Diu	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	3	III	105,628
	1	IV	17,317
	4	V	27,427
	2	VI	4,257
	10	Total	154,629
Manipur	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	—	Total	—

(contd)

TABLE 131 (contd.)

Name of the State	No. of towns with growth rate of above 50% during 1961-71		Total population 1971
	No.	Size-class	
Nagaland	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	1	III	21,398
	2	IV	29,673
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	3	Total	51,071
Orissa	3	I	395,685
	1	II	64,603
	8	III	227,302
	6	IV	92,567
	3	V	26,084
	—	VI	—
	21	Total	806,241
Punjab	1	I	401,124
	—	II	—
	1	III	25,380
	1	IV	18,031
	3	V	24,299
	—	VI	—
	6	Total	468,834
Rajasthan	2	I	826,149
	1	II	82,101
	2	III	55,930
	7	IV	98,352
	2	V	14,246
	2	VI	9,365
	16	Total	1,086,143
Tamil Nadu	1	I	113,397
	6	II	362,478
	16	III	547,843
	8	IV	127,426
	4	V	26,504
	4	VI	13,138
	39	Total	1,190,786
Uttar Pradesh	5	I	160,289
	1	II	54,647
	4	III	94,307
	5	IV	74,688
	3	V	17,709
	2	VI	4,548
	20	Total	406,188

Section IX: Data on Individual Cities

TABLE 132.—CITIES, TOWN-GROUPS AND TOWNS BY PREDOMINANT FUNCTION* AND SIZE-CLASSES, INDIA, 1961

Function of town	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	All Classes
Total	113	138	484	748	761	218	2,462
Agricultural	—	3	41	210	269	71	594
Port	15	7	19	27	19	3	90
Artisan	6	14	54	108	107	15	304
Manufacturing	43	47	108	101	75	13	387
Trade and Commerce	5	8	48	47	67	18	193
Transport	3	7	15	26	16	2	69
Service	41	52	199	229	208	96	825

*Predominant function of town denotes that the particular function suggested is pursued by the most substantial proportion of its working population

TABLE 131 (contd.)

<i>Name of the State</i>	<i>No. of towns with growth rate of above 50% during 1961-71</i>		<i>Total population 1971</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Size-class</i>	
Meghalaya	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	3	IV	45,655
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	3	Total	45,655
North East Frontier Agency	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	—	Total	—
Pondicherry	—	I	—
	1	II	90,639
	—	III	—
	—	IV	—
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	1	Total	90,639
Tripura	—	I	—
	—	II	—
	—	III	—
	1	IV	13,925
	—	V	—
	—	VI	—
	1	Total	13,925

TABLE 133
Technical Note

To find out the level of development certain variables have been taken into account which have been further divided into 6 blocks as follows

- Block I General ecology
- .. II Agricultural infra-structure
- .. III Participation rates with special reference to traditional economy
- .. IV Potential of human resources
- .. V Distributive trade, manufacturing and infra-structure
- .. VI Organised industry in the modern sector

They proceeded on the assumption that given a certain degree of agricultural and general infra-structure along with a potential of human and other resources there is bound to be a certain level of economic development and of organised industrial activity in the modern sector

Leaving out the first block (as being largely descriptive and qualitative) for all the other blocks districts were arranged in order of their observed values. High value reflected credit on a district while a low value signified the reverse. Then the total score was obtained for each district by the process of ranking. All the districts thereafter were freshly arranged in quartiles in ascending order of their total scores. This rearrangement and the position of each district in terms of its total score formed the basis of final ranking in the four levels of development.

TABLE 133.—NUMBER OF CITIES, TOWNS AND TOWN-GROUPS ARRANGED BY THE LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISTRICTS TO WHICH THEY RESPECTIVELY BELONG, INDIA, 1961

Size-class of towns	LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT									
	Total		Bottom		Second		Third		Top	
	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population	No. of towns	Population
I	113 (100.0)	38,176,907 (100.0)	3 (2.7)	392,319 (1.0)	13 (11.5)	2,024,199 (5.3)	33 (29.2)	6,363,563 (16.7)	64 (56.6)	29,396,826 (77.0)
II	138 (100.0)	9,387,431 (100.0)	10 (7.2)	685,665 (7.3)	21 (15.2)	1,380,148 (14.7)	31 (22.5)	2,158,741 (23.0)	76 (55.1)	5,162,877 (55.0)
III	481 (100.0)	14,529,866 (100.0)	46 (9.6)	1,447,870 (10.0)	106 (22.0)	3,124,847 (21.5)	163 (33.9)	4,766,574 (32.8)	165 (34.5)	5,190,575 (35.7)
IV	746 (100.0)	10,261,964 (100.0)	90 (12.1)	1,249,081 (12.2)	195 (26.1)	2,658,942 (25.9)	238 (31.9)	3,267,597 (31.8)	223 (29.9)	3,086,344 (30.1)
V	755 (100.0)	5,662,322 (100.0)	100 (13.2)	732,923 (12.9)	200 (26.5)	1,532,655 (27.1)	215 (28.5)	1,604,728 (28.3)	240 (31.8)	1,792,016 (31.7)
VI	211 (100.0)	728,452 (100.0)	40 (19.0)	107,471 (14.8)	39 (18.4)	135,356 (18.6)	46 (21.8)	175,145 (24.0)	86 (40.8)	310,480 (42.6)
All Classes	2,444 (100.0)	78,746,942 (100.0)	289 (11.8)	4,615,329 (5.8)	574 (23.5)	10,856,147 (13.8)	726 (29.7)	18,336,348 (23.3)	855 (35.0)	44,939,118 (57.1)

NOTE: Figures in the brackets denote percentages.

(See Technical Note on the next page)

TABLE 135.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS BY SIZE-CLASS AND "THREE TESTS" WITH CIVIC STATUS, INDIA, 1961

Categories	Number of Towns in Each Class						Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
ABCm	98 (91.59)	129 (92.80)	362 (69.89)	333 (40.61)	243 (28.65)	—	1,165 (43.15)
AbCm	—	—	—	—	—	96 (35.32)	96 (3.56)
ABcm	2 (1.87)	2 (1.44)	60 (11.58)	140 (17.07)	175 (20.64)	—	379 (14.04)
abcm	—	—	—	—	—	64 (23.38)	64 (2.37)
aBCm	—	—	2 (0.39)	8 (0.97)	12 (1.42)	—	22 (0.81)
abCM	—	—	—	—	—	19 (7.09)	19 (0.70)
aBcm	—	—	1 (0.19)	35 (4.27)	58 (6.84)	—	94 (3.48)
abcm	—	—	—	—	—	18 (6.72)	18 (0.67)
ABCm	2 (1.87)	4 (2.88)	60 (11.58)	173 (21.10)	206 (24.29)	—	445 (16.48)
AbCm	—	—	—	—	—	34 (12.69)	34 (1.26)
ABcm	—	—	21 (4.06)	100 (12.20)	95 (11.20)	—	216 (8.00)
abcm	—	—	—	—	—	8 (2.98)	8 (0.30)
aBCm	—	1 (0.72)	—	6 (0.73)	11 (1.30)	—	18 (0.67)
abcm	—	—	—	—	—	7 (2.61)	7 (0.26)
aBcm	—	—	1 (0.19)	19 (2.32)	41 (4.83)	—	61 (2.26)
abcm	—	—	—	—	—	10 (3.73)	10 (0.37)
Unclassified M	5 (4.67)	3 (2.16)	10 (1.93)	4 (0.49)	5 (0.59)	5 (1.87)	32 (1.18)
Unclassified m	—	—	1 (0.19)	2 (0.24)	2 (0.24)	7 (2.61)	12 (0.44)
Total	107 (100.00)	139 (100.00)	518 (100.00)	820 (100.00)	848 (100.00)	268 (100.00)	2 700 (100.00)

NOTE: Figures in brackets denote percentage

(See Technical Note on the next page)

TABLE 134.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS BY SIZE-CLASS AND CIVIC STATUS, INDIA, 1961

Civic Status	Number of Towns in Each Class							Per cent of total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total	
<i>Municipal</i>								
Municipal Corporation	19	1	—	—	—	—	20	0.74
Municipal Board								
Municipal Committee	85	127	404	440	368	120	1,544	57.19
City Municipality								
Town Municipality								
Municipal Town Committee								
Town Committee								
Town Board	—	—	4	27	78	35	144	5.33
Town Area								
Town Area Committee								
Notified Area								
Notified Area Committee	—	1	14	37	35	29	116	4.30
Notified Area Council								
Cantonment								
Cantonment Board	1*	5	12	14	11	13	56	2.07
Small Town Committee	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	0.15
Sanitary Board	1**	—	1	—	—	1	3	0.11
Station Committee	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	0.07
Union Committee								
<i>Non-Municipal</i>								
Panchayat								
Town-Panchayat	—	1	42	187	180	35	445	16.48
Village-Panchayat								
Gram-Panchayat								
Non-Municipal Non-Panchayat								
Non-Notified Area	—	—	26	65	74	12	177	6.56
Township	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	0.07
No Civic Status	1	4	15	47	102	18	187	6.93
Total	107	139	518	820	848	268	2,700	100.00

Town
* Ambala (C.B.)

** Kolar Gold Field (S.B.)

District
Ambala
Kolar

State
Punjab
Mysore

TABLE 136.—CITIES WITH POPULATION OF 100 000 AND OVER, 1971

(Provisional figures)

Sl. No.	Cities and Urban agglomerations 100,000 +	(State)	Population in 1971	Decade Growth Rate 1961-71	Sex Ratio 1971	Literacy Rate 1971
1	Calcutta	U.A. (West Bengal)	7 005,362	22.11	701	57.56
2	Greater Bombay	M.C. (Maharashtra)	5,968,546	43.75	717	63.96
3	Delhi	U.A. (Delhi)	3 629 842	57.85	798	59.10
4	Madras	M.C. (Tamil Nadu)	2,470,288	42.86	902	62.05
5	Hyderabad	U.A. (Andhra Pradesh)	1 798,910	44.03	927	52.21
6	Bangalore	U.A. (Mysore)	1 648,232	43.00	875	59.53
7	Ahmedabad	M.C. (Gujarat)	1,588,378	38.13	834	58.96
8	Kanpur	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	1,273 016	31.10	762	50.90
9	Nagpur	M.C. (Maharashtra)	866,144	34.57	900	58.06
10	Poona	M.C. (Maharashtra)	853,226	42.78	879	62.68
11	Lucknow	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	826,246	26.01	809	52.66
12	Agra	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	637 785	25.38	839	42.13
13	Jaipur	M. (Rajasthan)	613 144	51.98	856	46.73
14	Varanasi	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	582,915	19.00	826	43.87
15	Indore	(Madhya Pradesh)	572,622	44.99	861	57.11
16	Madurai	M. (Tamil Nadu)	548,298	29.07	949	63.05
17	Jabalpur	U.A. (Madhya Pradesh)	533 751	45.43	817	56.20
18	Allahabad	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	513 997	19.33	785	52.84
19	Patna	U.A. (Bihar)	490,265	34.47	790	52.47
20	Surat	M. (Gujarat)	471 815	63.81	839	57.92
21	Baroda	(Gujarat)	467 422	56.64	852	63.43
22	Jaunpurnpur	U.A. (Bihar)	465,200	41.81	801	54.83
23	Cochin	(Kerala)	438,420	56.19	957	69.30
24	Dhanbad	U.A. (Bihar)	433 085	115.88	664	41.85
25	Amritsar	M.C. (Punjab)	432 663	14.98	831	57.10
26	Trivandrum	C. (Kerala)	409 761	70.87	989	69.38
27	Gwalior	(Madhya Pradesh)	406 755	35.32	842	48.24
28	Srinagar	M.C. (Jammu & Kashmir)	403,612	41.49	851	52.49
29	Ludhiana	M.C. (Punjab)	401 124	64.37	807	56.99
30	Sholapur	M. (Maharashtra)	398 122	17.93	911	48.06
31	Bhopal	U.A. (Madhya Pradesh)	392,077	75.86	825	52.26
32	Hubli-Dharwar	(Mysore)	379,555	52.75	886	54.18
33	Meerut	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	367 821	29.52	816	47.58
34	Vaikhapatnam	U.A. (Andhra Pradesh)	362,270	71.54	971	50.78
35	Mysore	M. (Mysore)	355,636	40.09	904	56.36
36	Coimbatore	M. (Tamil Nadu)	353 469	23.46	897	65.42
37	Vijayawada	U.A. (Andhra Pradesh)	343 664	46.64	936	54.61
38	Calicut	M. (Kerala)	333 980	73.48	587	65.11
39	Bareilly	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	326 127	19.54	845	41.39
40	Jodhpur	M. (Rajasthan)	318 854	41.88	852	46.11
41	Salem	M. (Tamil Nadu)	308,303	23.74	949	54.59
42	Tiruchirappalli	M. (Tamil Nadu)	306,247	22.57	947	65.27
43	Rajkot	(Gujarat)	300 152	54.60	923	60.02
44	Jalandhar	M.C. (Punjab)	296 103	33.04	839	57.21
45	Moradabad	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	272,355	41.98	847	40.44
46	Guntur	(Andhra Pradesh)	269,941	44.26	973	47.53
47	Ajmer	M. (Rajasthan)	262,480	13.51	888	58.89
48	Kolhapur	M. (Maharashtra)	259,068	38.21	846	60.35
49	Ranchi	U.A. (Bihar)	256 011	82.54	804	59.85
50	Aligarh	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	254,008	37.29	870	42.50
51	Durg-Bhilainagar	U.A. (Madhya Pradesh)	245,333	84.14	828	51.06
52	Chandigarh	U.A. (Chandigarh)	233 004	134.74	755	64.59
53	Gorakhpur	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	230,701	27.99	798	53.75
54	Bhavnagar	(Gujarat)	226,073	28.11	915	55.81
55	Saharanpur	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	225,698	21.85	833	44.15
56	Jamnagar	(Gujarat)	214,853	44.61	916	53.98
57	Mangalore	U.A. (Mysore)	214,093	22.68	906	64.92
58	Belgaum	M. (Mysore)	213 830	45.67	885	60.98

(contd.)

TABLE 135

Technical Note

Three eligibility tests have been applied to test whether each of the 2,700 towns and cities of India satisfy the criteria of a town laid down by the Census, 1961.

Three tests have been denoted as follows:

- A — indicates a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile.
- a — stands for the absence of attribute A.
- B — indicates a population of 5,000 and over.
- b — stands for the absence of attribute B
- C — indicates that at least 75% of the working force is engaged in non-agricultural occupations
- c — stands for the absence of attribute C.
- M — municipal status of the town.
- m — non-municipal status of the town.

On the basis of the association of first three attributes we get the following eight possible categories:

- ABC — Density over 1,000, population over 5,000 and over 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- AbC — Density over 1,000, population below 5,000 and over 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- ABc — Density over 1,000, population over 5,000 and less than 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- Abc — Density over 1,000, population below 5,000 and less than 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- aBC — Density less than 1,000, population over 5,000 and over 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- abC — Density less than 1,000, population less than 5,000 and more than 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- aBc — Density less than 1,000, population over 5,000 and less than 75% of workers in non-agriculture.
- abc — Density less than 1,000, population less than 5,000 and less than 75% of workers in non-agriculture

Addition of M or m with these attributes indicate the civic status of the town.

The town belonging to ABCM category is a municipal town and satisfies all the three eligibility tests. Conversely, a town belonging to abcm category will denote that it is a non-municipal town and does not satisfy any of the three eligibility tests.

TABLE 136 (contd)

Sl. No.	Cities and Urban agglomerations 100,000+		(State)	Population in 1971	Decade Growth Rate 1961-71	Sex Ratio 1971	Literacy Rate 1971
118	Singagullar	M	(Tamil Nadu)	113,397	379.58	928	54.59
119	Tiruppur	M	(Tamil Nadu)	113,171	41.87	927	55.36
120	Kumbakonam	M	(Tamil Nadu)	112,971	22.02	992	58.63
121	Machilipatnam (Bazdar)	M	(Andhra Pradesh)	112,636	11.06	953	56.67
122	Farukhabad-cum-Fatehgarh	U.A.	(Uttar Pradesh)	111,373	17.74	835	43.60
123	Kanchipuram	M	(Tamil Nadu)	110,505	19.19	967	55.58
124	Fatehabad	W.A.	(Uttar Pradesh)	109,765	24.31	770	46.67
125	Tirunelveli	M	(Tamil Nadu)	108,509	23.32	986	60.29
126	Nadiad	M	(Gujarat)	108,268	37.13	889	61.89
127	Bokaro Steel City	U.A.	(Bihar)	108,012		650	37.38
128	Jaigaon	M	(Maharashtra)	106,739	32.84	891	39.03
129	Mirzapur-cum-Vindhyachal	M.B.	(Uttar Pradesh)	105,920	5.82	853	38.09
130	Bhubaneswar	N.A.C.	(Orissa)	105,514	176.14	727	62.53
131	Burhanpur		(Madhya Pradesh)	105,349	25.33	930	45.57
132	Erode	M	(Tamil Nadu)	103,704	49.59	925	55.53
133	Bijapur	M	(Mysore)	103,308	31.01	899	52.32
134	Tenali	M	(Andhra Pradesh)	102,943	31.10	973	51.09
135	Shimoga	M	(Mysore)	102,703	61.07	887	56.52
136	Ambala Cantt.	C.B.	(Haryana)	102,519	2.87	923	53.55
137	Monghyr	M	(Bihar)	102,462	14.14	844	45.34
138	Cuddalore	M	(Tamil Nadu)	101,345	28.01	976	52.44
139	Bhadravati	U.A.	(Mysore)	101,315	54.03	893	50.13
140	Alwar	M	(Rajasthan)	100,791	38.63	831	48.71
141	Imphal	M	(Manipur)	100,605	48.57	983	56.85
142	Bihar	M	(Bihar)	100,057	27.32	876	39.16

The following abbreviations are used to denote the civic status of towns, wherever available

U.A.	Urban Agglomeration	P	Panchayat
C	Municipal Corporation	T.P.	Town Panchayat
M.C.	Municipal Corporation	T.S.	Township
M. Corp.	Municipal Corporation	T.A.	Town Area
M	Municipality	Cantt.	Cantonment
M.B.	Municipal Board	C.B.	Cantonment Board
M.C.	Municipal Committee	N.M.	Non-Municipal
T.C.	Town Committee	S.B.	Sanitary Board
N.A.	Notified Area		
N.A.C.	Notified Area Committee		
(Notified Area Council is used in the State of Orissa only)			

TABLE 136 (contd.)

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Cities and Urban agglomerations 100,000 +</i>	<i>(State)</i>	<i>Population in 1971</i>	<i>Decade Growth Rate 1961-71</i>	<i>Sex Ratio 1971</i>	<i>Literacy Rate 1971</i>
59.	Kota	M (Rajasthan)	213,005	77.00	814	48.83
60.	Ujjain	(Madhya Pradesh)	209,118	43.06	903	51.86
61.	Durgapur	N.M. (West Bengal)	207,232	397.01	776	56.23
62.	Warangal	C.M. (Andhra Pradesh)	207,130	32.69	929	45.28
63.	Raipur	(Madhya Pradesh)	203,909	47.30	891	53.27
64.	Dehra Dun	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	199,443	27.57	778	63.42
65.	Jhansi	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	198,101	16.73	890	49.52
66.	Cuttack	M (Orissa)	194,036	32.62	776	57.98
67.	Amravati	M (Maharashtra)	193,636	40.44	881	57.62
68.	Malegaon	M (Maharashtra)	191,784	57.97	928	43.19
69.	Rajahmundry	U.A. (Andhra Pradesh)	188,841	45.26	968	52.34
70.	Bikaner	M (Rajasthan)	188,598	25.20	872	46.50
71.	Gaya	M (Bihar)	179,826	19.01	844	47.93
72.	Nasik	M (Maharashtra)	176,187	34.39	898	62.07
73.	Bhagalpur	M (Bihar)	172,700	20.06	809	47.93
74.	Rourkela	U.A. (Orissa)	172,536	91.10	743	57.60
75.	Thane	M (Maharashtra)	170,167	68.30	779	63.89
76.	Akola	M (Maharashtra)	168,494	45.52	877	56.22
77.	Udhampur	M (Jammu & Kashmir)	168,128	56.02	882	56.98
78.	Kakinada	M (Andhra Pradesh)	164,172	33.62	988	49.77
79.	Udaipur	M (Rajasthan)	162,934	46.60	837	52.66
80.	Kharagpur	(West Bengal)	161,911	9.95	874	57.64
81.	Rampur	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	161,802	19.49	871	51.26
82.	Alleppey	M (Kerala)	160,064	13.29	994	70.06
83.	Asansol	M (West Bengal)	157,388	52.21	747	57.79
84.	Jaunpur	M.G. (Uttar Pradesh)	152,249	31.11	837	59.84
85.	Sagar	U.A. (Madhya Pradesh)	154,811	47.90	845	53.21
86.	Tuticorin	M (Tamil Nadu)	154,804	24.61	982	61.56
87.	Patna	M.C. (Bihar)	151,903	21.30	835	57.34
88.	Aurangabad	M (Maharashtra)	150,314	71.86	828	54.58
89.	Gulbarga	M (Mysore)	145,630	50.03	901	46.79
90.	Burdwan	M (West Bengal)	144,970	33.95	810	52.18
91.	Shahjahanpur	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	144,058	22.39	864	53.94
92.	Nagercoil	M (Tamil Nadu)	141,207	32.95	994	69.52
93.	Thanjavur	M (Tamil Nadu)	140,470	26.44	973	62.93
94.	Matbura	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	140,468	12.14	833	48.02
95.	Vellore	M (Tamil Nadu)	138,220	21.52	957	59.18
96.	Dhule	M (Maharashtra)	137,089	38.62	886	57.94
97.	Kurnool	M (Andhra Pradesh)	136,682	35.58	955	47.09
98.	Firozabad	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	133,945	35.83	835	58.85
99.	Nellore	M (Andhra Pradesh)	131,607	25.13	953	56.09
100.	Dharbhanga	M (Bihar)	132,129	28.26	844	43.15
101.	Bilaspur	(Madhya Pradesh)	130,804	50.86	898	54.82
102.	Ghaziabad	U.A. (Uttar Pradesh)	128,036	81.77	796	49.54
103.	Dindigul	M (Tamil Nadu)	127,406	37.07	969	57.98
104.	Eluru	M (Andhra Pradesh)	127,047	17.29	1,011	52.05
105.	Muzaffarpur	M (Bihar)	127,045	16.50	743	51.10
106.	Nanded	M (Maharashtra)	126,400	55.88	875	43.00
107.	Billari	M (Mysore)	125,127	46.05	908	47.51
108.	Rohilk	M.C. (Haryana)	124,873	41.49	863	56.04
109.	Quilon	M (Kerala)	124,072	36.32	987	68.48
110.	Gauhati	M (Assam)	122,881	22.12	641	35.44
111.	Davanagere	M (Mysore)	121,018	54.91	879	51.14
112.	Ratlam	(Madhya Pradesh)	118,625	35.61	900	55.47
113.	Berhampur	M (Orissa)	117,635	52.91	930	50.67
114.	Ahmadnagar	M (Maharashtra)	117,275	20.95	903	64.08
115.	Sangli	M (Maharashtra)	115,052	55.82	871	55.62
116.	Nizamabad	C.M. (Andhra Pradesh)	114,868	45.23	935	59.58
117.	Muzaffarnagar	M.B. (Uttar Pradesh)	114,839	31.08	843	47.31

(contd.)

TABLE 137 (contd)

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
12. Durg Bhilai Nagar (U.A.)	245,333	84.14
(a) Bhilai Nagar	174,557	102.70
(i) Bhilai Nagar	158,464	84.01
(ii) Bhilai Nagar urban outgrowth	16,093	—
(b) Durg	70,776	50.22
13. Bilaspur	130,804	50.86
(i) Bilaspur	130,804	24.42
(ii) Bilaspur Rly. Colony	22,921	—
Maharashtra		
14. Malegaon	191,784	57.97
15. Thana	170,167	68.30
16. Ulhasnagar	168,128	56.02
17. Aurangabad	150,514	71.86
18. Nanded	126,400	55.83
19. Sangli	115,052	55.82
Mysore		
20. Hubli-Dharwar	379,555	52.75
21. Gulbarga	145,630	50.03
22. Davanagere	121,018	54.91
23. Shimoga	102,703	61.07
24. Bhadravati (U.A.)	101,315	54.03
Orissa		
25. Rourkela (U.A.)	172,536	91.10
(a) Rourkela Steel Township	125,427	—
(b) Rourkela Civil Township	47,109	—
26. Berhampur	117,635	52.91
27. Bhubaneswar	105,514	176.14
Punjab		
28. Ludhiana	401,124	64.37
Rajasthan		
29. Jaipur	613,144	51.98
30. Kota	213,005	77.00
Tamil Nadu		
31. Singanailur	113,397	359.58
32. Ghazabad (U.A.)	128,036	81.77
(a) Ghazabad	119,199	83.64
(b) Ghazabad Rly. Colony	8,837	21.92
33. Durgapur	207,232	397.01
34. Asansol	157,388	52.21
Delhi		
35. Delhi (U.A.)	3,629,842	53.85
(a) Delhi	3,279,955	59.09
(b) New Delhi	292,857	11.97
(c) Delhi	57,030	57.96
36. Chandigarh	218,807	144.97

TABLE 137.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS I TOWNS, 1971

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Andhra Pradesh		
1. Visakapatnam (U.A.)	362,270	71.54
(a) Visakapatnam	351,249	66.32
(b) Gopalapatnam Town	8,476	—
(c) Gajuvaka outgrowth	2,545	—
Bihar		
2. Dhanbad	433,085	115.88
(a) Dhanbad	79,545	38.70
(b) Kerkend	51,316	689.72
(c) Sindri	46,159	11.72
(d) Jharia	45,248	34.33
(e) Jorapokhar	44,904	187.94
(f) Tisra	33,700	351.14
(g) Bhowrah	25,065	136.75
(h) Bhuli	20,168	—
(i) Loyabad	19,308	67.13
(j) Bhagatdihi	17,903	—
(k) Siyua	16,754	67.59
(l) Jamadopa	16,197	146.60
(m) Palhardih	9,917	—
(n) Kenduadihi	4,550	—
(o) Bera	2,351	—
3. Ranchi	256,011	82.54
(a) Ranchi	176,225	43.96
(b) Jaganathnagar	55,691	—
(c) Doranda	24,095	35.08
Gujarat		
4. Surat	471,815	63.81
5. Baroda	467,422	56.64
6. Rajkot	300,152	54.60
Jammu & Kashmir		
7. Jammu	155,249	51.11
Kerala		
8. Cochin	438,420	56.19
9. Trivandrum	409,761	70.87
10. Calicut	333,980	73.48
Madhya Pradesh		
11. Bhopal (U.A.)	392,077	75.86
(a) Bhopal	309,285	66.84
(i) Bhopal	302,618	63.25
(ii) Bhopal urban outgrowth	6,667	—
(b) Govindpura	53,927	159.93
(c) Bairagarh	23,865	71.54
(i) Bairagarh	22,987	36.61
(ii) 3 EME Centre, Bairagarh	5,878	—

(contd.)

TABLE 138.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS II TOWNS, 1971

	<i>Population</i> 1971	<i>Growth Rate</i> 1961-71
Andhra Pradesh		
1. Anantapur	80,072	53.16
2. Tirupati	65,847	83.70
3. Khammam	56,962	58.72
Assam		
4. Tinsukia	55,392	94.58
Bihar		
5. Bokaro	9,378	73.47
Gujarat		
6. Mahsana	51,705	58.72
7. Kalol	50,331	57.58
Haryana		
8. Faridabad New Township	85,819	115.34
9. Gurgaon	57,085	50.75
Kerala		
10. Telicherry	68,736	53.56
Madhya Pradesh		
11. Rewa	69,197	60.68
12. Satna	60,944	60.19
13. Dewas	51,882	50.05
14. Shivpuri	50,858	77.32
Maharashtra		
15. Ichalkaranji	87,727	72.09
16. Pimpri-Chinchwad	83,552	198.67
17. Bhivandi	79,523	66.96
18. Latur	70,147	71.45
19. Parbhani	61,477	67.08
20. Ambarnath	56,461	63.61
21. Dombivli	51,203	178.17
22. Bhir	50,015	51.26
Mysore		
23. Mandya	72,058	116.09
24. Hassan	51,329	59.55
25. Bidar	50,677	56.31
26. Chitradurga	50,275	50.81
Orissa		
27. Sambalpur	64,603	66.01

(contd.)

TABLE 139.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS III TOWNS, 1971

	Population 1971	Growth Rat 1961-71
Andhra Pradesh		
1. Karimnagar	48,729	54.43
2. Tadepalligudem	43,614	61.02
3. Chitakaluripet	41,546	83.30
4. Dharmavaram	30,876	51.32
Assam		
5. Dhubri	44,551	57.12
6. Tezpur	39,915	65.22
7. Aizal	31,436	120.50
8. Sibsagar	27,393	81.34
9. Hojai	22,776	77.15
10. North Lakhimpur	20,215	207.41
Bihar		
11. Begusarai (U.A.)	44,014	60.95
(a) Begusarai	35,697	30.54
(b) Barauni I O.C. Township	8,317	—
12. Mothihari (U.A.)	40,380	16.70
(a) Mothihari	37,058	13.61
(b) Lauthaha	3,322	67.61
13. Ramgarh (U.A.)	37,964	89.43
(a) Ramgarh Cantt.	23,051	15.02
(b) Sirka	7,946	—
(c) Barkakara	6,967	—
14. Chaibasa	35,364	60.61
15. Khagaria (U.A.)	27,546	100.61
(a) Khagaria	17,152	24.91
(b) Mathurapur	10,394	—
16. Sakarsa	23,199	56.72
17. Araria	22,234	59.68
Gujarat		
18. Palanpur	47,766	63.92
19. Sahjpur	40,307	97.71
20. Himatnagar	23,745	55.33
21. Vijapur	23,206	92.29
Haryana		
22. Jind	38,151	57.54
23. Thanesar	29,558	75.65
24. Bahadurgarh	25,828	72.39
25. Fatehgarh	22,654	91.80
26. Narwana	21,322	51.90
Humachal Pradesh		
27. Sunder Nagar	21,251	267.54

(contd.)

TABLE 139 (contd.)

	<i>Population</i> 1971	<i>Growth Rate</i> 1961-71
West Bengal		
96 Arambagh	25 619	54.79
97 Barupur	20 496	50.62
Andaman & Nicobar Islands		
96. Port Blair	26,212	86.23
Gos. Daman & Diu		
99 Margao (U.A.)	47 461	208.91
(a) Margao	41 693	171.37
(b) Navelim	4,325	—
(c) Aquem	1 443	—
100 Marmagao	43,931	577.63
101 Mapuca	20 004	144.01

TABLE 139 (contd.)

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Orissa		
64. Bolangir	35,882	92.26
65. Brajarajnaga	31,845	96.62
66. Jatni	25,351	57.77
67. Raygada	24,908	71.34
68. Chowdwar	24,306	80.34
69. Bhawanipatna	22,790	59.37
70. Koraput	21,683	190.62
Punjab		
71. Rajpura Township	25,380	51.85
Rajasthan		
72. Hanunagarh	30,006	67.55
73. Chitorgarh	25,924	53.51
Tamil Nadu		
74. Paramakudi	48,884	92.70
75. Madakulam	46,336	141.22
76. Ambathur	42,750	284.17
77. Ponnalaipatti	41,074	74.34
78. Pattukottai	37,673	52.36
79. Nellikuppam	37,626	69.73
80. Erode	37,079	62.87
81. Tiruchengode	36,983	72.93
82. Panruti	33,954	81.05
83. Manapparai	32,095	175.64
84. Vriddhachalam	31,864	122.05
85. Villavakkam	30,656	101.64
86. St. Thomas Mount-cum-Pallavaram	25,181	59.47
87. Avaniapuram	23,213	76.51
88. Ganapathi	21,831	54.00
89. Kallakurichi	20,644	55.08
Uttar Pradesh		
90. Modinagar	43,478	79.17
91. Nautil (U.A.)	25,725	59.98
(a) Nautil	24,544	63.68
(b) Nautil Cantt.	1,181	8.85
92. Rudrapur	25,075	159.52
93. Almora (U.A.)	21,021	26.62
(a) Almora	19,811	23.79
(b) Almora Cantt.	1,210	102.34
West Bengal		
94. Nangi	47,872	54.47
95. New Barrackpur	32,675	56.56

(contd.)

TABLE 140 (contd)

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Kerala		
37 Taliparamba	16,270	110.86
Madhya Pradesh		
38 Mahasamund	17,541	65.11
39 Barwaha	17,023	52.15
40 Napanagar	15,748	79.36
41 Ashtara	14,037	56.30
42 Tikuri	13,310	82.58
43 Panagar	11,811	58.58
44 Sabalgarh	11,257	50.45
45 Ambah	10,982	64.70
46 Jaura	10,638	68.32
47 Kanker	10,545	62.56
48 Jhabua	10,504	66.33
49 Newara (Raipur)	10,076	78.78
Maharashtra		
50 Jaysingpur	17,136	55.99
51 Purna	16,673	53.06
52 Gangakhed	15,791	62.13
53 Jintur	15,335	63.71
54 Kalwa	14,562	79.60
55 Paithan	14,543	69.97
56 Marjlegaon	13,601	53.23
57 Lohagaon	12,503	144.44
58 Umarga	11,638	55.07
59 Mohone	11,350	55.71
60 Kamptee Cantt.	11,043	90.92
61 Bhayandar	10,614	52.19
Mysore		
62 Huniyur	17,363	51.58
63 Chalakere	16,916	62.51
64 Humnabad	16,367	51.64
65 Krishnarayanagar	15,354	59.36
66 Sindnur	14,306	51.31
67 Manvi	13,913	59.64
Nagaland		
68 Mokokchung	17,381	182.25
69 Dimapur	12,292	113.66
Orissa		
70. Keonjhar	19,354	53.51
71 Sundargarh	17,250	52.26
72. Burla	15,593	52.42

(contd)

TABLE 140.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS IV TOWNS, 1971

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Andhra Pradesh	19,265	92.19
1. Muralguda	17,837	72.87
2. Kamareddy	17,692	50.19
3. Koratla	17,260	76.81
4. Sangareddy	16,763	53.02
5. Yellandu	15,439	50.71
6. Nandigama	13,160	67.39
7. Metapalli	12,856	131.18
8. Tirumalai	10,709	86.57
9. Bhadrachalam		
Assam	17,059	76.81
10. Barpeta Road	17,045	77.63
11. Kokrajhar	14,999	62.41
12. Mariani	13,380	52.69
13. Bongaigaon	10,820	64.59
14. Dhing	10,481	51.77
15. Kharupatia	10,431	63.93
16. Dhekiajuli	19,965	96.93
17. Mahnar Bazar	19,828	160.93
18. Musabani	18,368	116.43
19. Ghatsila	16,090	50.23
20. Gumla	15,065	68.80
21. Sherghata	14,655	157.97
22. Bikanaganj		
Gujarat	19,617	56.31
23. Keshod	19,275	56.00
24. Bardoli	17,502	81.99
25. Kandla	15,444	127.72
26. Vallabh Vidyanagar	13,240	50.83
27. Sikka	12,096	56.02
28. Thangadh	10,465	99.11
29. Ranip		
Haryana	19,664	81.12
30. Faridabad	17,417	109.09
31. Ballabgarh	16,738	51.30
32. Gohana	11,374	84.67
33. Pehowa		
Himachal Pradesh	10,165	54.96
34. Solan		
Jammu & Kashmir	17,236	78.67
35. Kathua	16,390	59.70
36. Udhampur		

(contd)

TABLE 141—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS V TOWNS 1971

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Assam		
1 Rangia	9 884	98.31
2. Tangla	9,295	115.21
3 Bihpuria	5,356	67.48
4 Haflong	5,211	59.60
Bihar		
5 Mithyām	8 713	60.43
Gujarat		
6. Talala	6 741	53.10
Haryana		
7 Kalanwali	6 530	60.09
8 Ukhanamandi	5 992	67.00
Himachal Pradesh		
9 Sultanpur (Kulu)	8,966	83.50
Jammu & Kashmir		
10 Pampore	8 562	53.77
11 Bandipore	6 213	52.50
12. Arnua	5 844	52.70
Madhya Pradesh		
13 Katangi (Jabalpur)	9 643	72.75
14 Takhatpura	9 406	54.83
15 Sidhi	9 369	86.60
16 Raisen	9 130	53.14
17 Karera	8 303	65.23
18 Bhikangaon	6 687	53.72
19 Mehgaon	5 378	50.18
20 Baikunthpur	5 065	55.27
Maharashtra		
21 Katemanival	9 650	66.29
22. Kandari	8 353	62.97
23 Naldug	7,347	52.87
24 Rajura	7 174	62.30
Mysore		
25 Pavagada	9 002	52.24
26. Bagepalli	5 401	53.48
27 Kushalnagar	5 007	72.54

(contd.)

TABLE 140 (contd.)

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Orissa		
73. Hirakud	15,046	75.10
74. Titlagadh	14,506	95.16
75. Jaipur Road	10,818	80.63
Punjab		
76. Sirhind	18,031	87.67
Rajasthan		
77. Dungarpur	19,781	55.08
78. Jaisalmer	16,558	98.01
79. Suratgarh	14,494	74.00
80. Sangaria	13,004	60.31
81. Deoli	12,295	133.12
82. Ramgarjmandi	11,183	64.34
83. Bhawanimandi	11,037	52.30
Tamil Nadu		
84. Poovirunthavalli	18,706	57.19
85. Tiruttani	17,055	65.20
86. Arantangi	16,307	58.97
87. Rameswaram	16,301	139.69
88. Gudalur	15,553	86.76
89. Thalakulam	14,740	114.00
90. Ponmeni	14,401	116.95
91. Taramangalam	14,354	55.30
Uttar Pradesh		
92. Mussorie	18,047	83.24
93. Rishikesh	17,652	61.57
94. Muradnagar	13,998	69.51
95. Dadri	13,064	50.28
96. Clement Town Cantt.	11,927	53.05
West Bengal		
97. Dhupguri	16,798	57.92
98. Islampur	15,778	66.10
99. Gangarampur	14,813	53.17
100. Pandua	12,363	51.53
Goa, Daman and Diu		
101. Daman	17,317	88.29
102. Nonghymmai	16,050	59.16
103. Tura	15,352	72.73
104. Mawlai	14,253	67.13
Tripura		
105. Radhakishorepur	13,925	58.64

TABLE 142.—GROWTH OF POPULATION OF RAPIDLY GROWING
CLASS VI TOWNS, 1971

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Assam		
1 Chabua	3,929	55.11
Gujarat		
2 Ahmedabad Cantonment (Military)	4,280	183.63
Himachal Pradesh		
3 Paonta Sahib	3,691	101.36
Jammu & Kashmir		
4 Reasi	3,879	60.42
5 Ramnagar	3,474	57.41
6 Katra	3,308	116.35
7 Gulmarg	542	163.11
Kerala		
8 Cannanore Cantonment	4,749	66.11
Madhya Pradesh		
9 Pachmarhi	1,212	85.60
Maharashtra		
10 Alandi	4,870	52.81
11 Chikalda	2,436	85.80
Mysore		
12 Heggadadevanakote	4,383	53.36
Rajasthan		
13 Kherli	4,795	52.85
14 Anupgarh	4,570	99.22
Tamil Nadu		
15 Sathamangalam	4,760	232.40
16 Koyambedu	3,966	86.64
17 Meenambakkam	2,506	57.02
18 Courtallam	1,906	134.44
Uttar Pradesh		
19 Landour Cantt.	2,351	69.26
20 Bhowli	2,197	50.79
Goa, Daman and Diu		
21 Quepem	2,924	156.04
22 Chauri	1,313	196.22

TABLE 141 (contd.)

	Population 1971	Growth Rate 1961-71
Orissa		
28. Kotpad	9,854	54.74
29. Banki	9,298	56.69
30. Khallikote	6,932	106.00
Punjab		
31. Kurali	9,774	52.96
32. Adampur	8,110	56.65
33. Dera Basi	6,415	53.36
Rajasthan		
34. Keshorapatan	7,287	56.01
35. Vidyavihar	6,959	100.89
Tamil Nadu		
36. Abishekapuram	6,981	76.73
37. Vilathikulam	6,560	66.03
38. Dharasuram	6,528	56.73
39. Erukkancheri	6,435	105.53
Uttar Pradesh		
40. Chakratacanit	6,121	91.64
41. Uttar Kashi	6,020	124.88
42. Srinagar	5,568	83.70
West Bengal		
43. Mahishadal	9,851	89.08
44. Bagula	6,828	50.73
Goa, Daman, Diu		
45. Bicholim	8,551	115.44
46. Ponda	7,656	133.49
47. Diu	6,214	50.17
48. Sanguem	5,006	105.16

TABLE 145.—CAUSES OF MIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS INDIA,
1957-58 AND 1959-60

Reason for migration	Thirteenth Round 1957-58*			Fifteenth Round 1959-60**		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
<i>Voluntary Reasons</i>						
1 For employment	40.15	2.73	21.37	40.55	1.62	19.37
2 For studies	6.19	1.11	3.64	4.96	0.97	2.78
3 Other reasons	6.89	2.92	4.89	6.49	2.37	4.24
4 All voluntary reasons	53.23	6.76	29.90	52.00	4.96	26.39
<i>Sequential Reasons</i>						
1 Under transfer on service or business contract	5.75	0.40	3.07	5.57	0.28	2.69
2 On marriage	0.56	46.23	23.47	0.81	51.03	28.14
3 With earning or dependent member of household	18.53	28.38	23.47	26.31	34.19	30.60
4 Political change (refugee)	13.87	10.70	12.28	7.03	4.09	5.43
5 Other reasons	3.71	3.72	3.72	3.85	2.58	3.16
6 All sequential reasons	42.42	89.43	66.01	43.57	92.17	70.02
Not recorded	4.35	3.81	4.09	4.43	2.87	3.59

SOURCE *Computed from National Sample Survey No. 53 *Tables with Notes on Internal Migration*, Thirteenth Round (1957-58), p. 10

**Computed from National Sample Survey, No. 126, *Tables with Notes on Internal Migration*, Fifteenth Round (1959-60), p. 20

TABLE 146.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS IN
URBAN INDIA, 1959-60

Age-group	Migrants	Non-migrants
0-14	10.95	52.99
15-17	8.36	11.20
18-21	10.23	6.25
22-26	12.81	6.00
27-36	21.73	8.89
37-46	16.22	6.43
47-61	12.74	5.08
62+	6.96	3.11
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

SOURCE National Sample Survey, No. 126, *Internal Migration* (1958-60) p. 19

Section XII: Select Data from National Sample Survey

TABLE 143.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WORKERS BY
MARITAL STATUS, URBAN INDIA, 1958-59

<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Per cent of workers</i>
1. Never married	11.24
2. Married	59.90
3. Widowed	26.50
4. Divorced	0.78
5. Separated	1.43
6. Not recorded	0.15
TOTAL	100.00

SOURCE: National Sample Survey, No. 85, *Tables and Notes on Employment and Unemployment in Urban India, Fourteenth Round (1958-59)*, p. 81.

TABLE 144.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES BY ACTIVITY STATUS AND
MARITAL STATUS, URBAN INDIA, 1958-59

<i>Activity status</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>Never married</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Separated</i>	<i>Not recorded</i>	
Employees	12.15	53.91	30.78	0.97	1.96	0.23	100.00
Employers	13.33	33.33	53.34	—	—	—	100.00
Own account workers	4.81	55.86	36.42	0.91	2.00	—	100.00
Unpaid family enterprise workers	16.29	74.59	8.56	0.37	—	0.19	100.00

SOURCE: National Sample Survey, No. 85, *Tables with Notes on Employment and Unemployment in Urban India, Fourteenth Round (1958-59)*, p. 81.

TABLE 149—PER CAPITA DAILY CONSUMPTION OF FOODGRAINS AND SUBSTITUTES AT CONSUMPTION LEVELS BELOW THE AVERAGE (1960-61)

Monthly per capita expenditure Rs.	Per capita daily consumption of food-grains and substitutes (gm)		Price of food grains and substitutes per kg		Urban price as per cent of rural price
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	
0-8	356	332	39.3	40.8	103.8
8-11	480	377	42.3	45.3	107.1
11-13	560	388	43.4	49.4	113.8
13-15	616	412	44.2	51.6	116.7
15-18	625	418	47.8	55.0	115.1
18-21	675	445	48.4	54.0	111.6
21-24	705	485	49.0	55.9	114.1
24-28	690	506	51.7	55.9	108.1

SOURCE Dandekar and Rath, op cit, p. 9

TABLE 150—AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS (1967-68)

Section of population	Number of Persons per Household	
	Rural	Urban
Poorest 5 per cent	5.77	6.00
5 to 10 per cent	5.97	6.18
10 to 20 per cent	5.72	6.00
20 to 30 per cent	5.57	5.82
30 to 40 per cent	5.33	5.48
40 to 50 per cent	5.31	5.37
50 to 60 per cent	5.30	4.93
60 to 70 per cent	5.33	4.39
70 to 80 per cent	5.11	3.49
80 to 90 per cent	4.75	2.89
90 to 95 per cent	4.61	2.74
Richest 5 per cent	3.78	2.25
All sections	5.25	4.70

SOURCE Dandekar and Rath, op cit, p. 16.

TABLE 151—NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY ESTIMATES OF PER CAPITA PRIVATE CONSUMER EXPENDITURE (Rupees)

	1960-61			1967-68		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
At current prices	261.2	359.2	278.8	405.2	550.3	432.9
At 1960-61 prices	261.2	359.2	278.8	239.8	325.7	256.2
NSS estimates revised to bring in accord with official estimates at 1960-61 prices	258.8	356.4	276.3	268.6	364.9	287.0
Per cent increase over 1960-61	—	—	—	3.8	2.4	3.9

SOURCE Dandekar and Rath, op cit, p. 32.

TABLE 147.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED IN-MIGRANTS (BY PLACE OF ORIGIN) AND NON-MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION, URBAN-INDIA, 1958-59

<i>Occupation-group</i>	<i>Immigrants from rural areas</i>	<i>Immigrants from urban areas</i>	<i>All non- migrants (employed)</i>
1. Professional, technical and related workers	5.29	8.26	4.72
2. Administrative, executive, managerial, clerical and related workers	10.81	17.53	7.72
3. Distributive and financial service occupations	11.63	10.51	15.52
4. Workers engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting	11.86	5.34	24.17
5. Miners, quarrymen and related workers	0.37	0.06	0.14
6. Transport and communication workers	5.93	6.64	4.26
7. Crafts and production process workers	28.51	28.59	27.95
8. Loaders and unloaders	7.49	4.59	4.44
9. Domestic and personal services	12.02	11.71	8.03
10. Other service occupations	0.61	0.58	0.20
11. Not classifiable and not recorded occupations	5.48	6.19	2.85
12. All occupations	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: National Sample Survey, No. 126, *Internal Migration (1958-59)*, p. 14.

TABLE 148.—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY PER CAPITA CONSUMER EXPENDITURE IN 1960-61

<i>Monthly per capita expenditure class—Rs.</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	<i>Average annual per capita expenditure Rs</i>	<i>Per cent of population</i>	<i>Average annual per capita expenditure Rs</i>	<i>Per cent of population</i>
0-8	79.3	6.38	77.6	2.15
8-11	116.6	11.95	118.3	5.49
11-13	147.2	9.88	145.0	7.19
13-15	170.8	9.82	169.7	6.86
15-18	200.0	13.79	201.2	10.71
18-21	237.3	11.44	235.7	11.40
21-24	273.4	9.03	271.7	9.68
24-28	313.0	7.72	315.4	11.03
28-34	375.1	7.66	373.6	9.34
34-43	460.8	5.93	464.0	9.61
43-55	583.4	3.12	592.3	7.04
55 & above	1,005.1	3.28	1032.5	9.50
All classes	261.2	100.00	359.2	100.00

SOURCE: Dandekar and Rath, op. cit., p. 4.

TABLE 153 — PER CAPITA ANNUAL CONSUMER EXPENDITURE IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF URBAN POPULATION IN 1960-61 AND 1967-68 (AT 1960-61 PRICES)

Section of population	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION 1967-68						
	Per capita consumption 1960-61	NSS Estimates		First Revision		Final Revision	
		Rs	Index with 1960-61 base per cent		Rs		Index with 1960-61 base per cent
			Rs				
0-5	96.2	74.3	77.2	74.3	77.2	81.3	
5-10	129.7	106.8	82.3	106.8	82.3	86.7	
10-20	156.1	138.4	88.7	138.4	88.7	93.3	
20-30	191.0	174.2	91.2	174.2	91.2	96.0	
30-40	223.8	209.1	93.4	209.1	93.4	98.3	
40-50	256.6	246.6	96.1	246.6	96.1	101.1	
50-60	295.8	289.2	97.8	289.2	97.8	102.9	
60-70	342.5	341.0	99.6	341.0	99.6	104.8	
70-80	421.3	410.1	97.3	419.6	99.6	104.8	
80-90	553.5	517.9	93.6	551.3	99.6	104.8	
90-95	753.4	667.0	88.5	750.4	99.6	104.8	
95-100	1,268.8	1,012.9	79.8	1,263.7	99.6	104.8	
All Sections	356.4	325.7	91.4	346.7	97.3	102.4	

Source: Dandekar and Rath, op cit, p. 39

TABLE 152.—PER CAPITA ANNUAL CONSUMER EXPENDITURE IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL POPULATION IN 1960-61 AND 1967-68 (AT 1960-61 PRICES)

Section of population	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION 1967-68							
	Per capita consumption 1960-61		NSS Estimates		First Revision		Final Revision	
			Index with 1960-61 base		Index with 1960-61 base		Index with 1960-61 base	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	per cent	Rs.	per cent	Rs.	per cent
0-5	75.6	71.0	93.9		71.0	93.9	74.8	98.9
5-10	100.4	96.9	96.5		96.9	96.5	102.0	101.6
10-20	124.2	120.1	96.7		120.1	96.7	126.5	101.9
20-30	150.1	145.8	97.1		145.8	97.1	153.4	102.2
30-40	174.4	170.0	97.5		170.0	97.5	179.0	102.6
40-50	198.0	195.0	98.5		195.0	98.5	205.3	103.7
50-60	227.0	222.8	98.1		224.3	98.8	236.2	104.1
60-70	258.5	256.1	99.1		256.1	99.1	269.8	104.4
70-80	303.1	298.8	98.6		300.4	99.1	316.3	104.4
80-90	382.5	363.3	95.0		379.1	99.1	399.2	104.4
90-95	491.3	449.4	91.1		488.9	99.1	514.8	104.4
95-100	870.6	635.0	72.9		832.8	99.1	908.6	104.4
All Sections	258.8	239.8	92.7		255.1	98.6	268.6	103.8

Source: Dandekar and Rath, op cit., p. 35.

TABLE 156.—ESTIMATED PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS IN 1980-81 (AT 1968-69 PRICES) IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TREND PERSPECTIVE

Section of population	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF					
	Rural Population			Urban Population		
	1968-69	1980-81	Index with 1968-69 base	1968-69	1980-81	Index with 1968-69 base
	Rs	Rs		Rs	Rs.	
0-5	127.2	124.3	97.7	133.1	124.3	93.4
5-10	173.4	179.5	103.5	191.3	179.5	93.8
10-20	215.0	224.0	104.2	248.0	233.1	94.0
20-30	260.8	273.6	104.9	311.9	296.3	95.0
30-40	304.3	321.8	105.8	374.6	360.6	96.3
40-50	349.0	377.9	108.3	441.6	451.2	102.2
50-60	401.5	438.3	109.2	518.0	551.5	106.5
60-70	458.7	503.9	109.9	610.8	676.6	110.8
70-80	537.7	590.7	109.9	751.5	832.5	110.8
80-90	678.6	745.6	109.9	937.4	1,093.7	110.8
90-95	875.1	961.4	109.9	1,344.1	1,488.9	110.8
95-100	1,544.6	1,697.0	109.9	2,263.4	2,507.0	110.8
All Sections	456.6	495.7	108.6	621.0	664.5	107.0

SOURCE Dandekar and Rath, op cit., p 62.

TABLE 157 —ESTIMATES OF PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS IN 1980-81 (AT 1968-69 PRICES) ACCORDING TO PLAN AND TREND PERSPECTIVE

Section of population	Plan Perspective			Trend Perspective		
	Rural	Urban	Urban as per cent of rural	Rural	Urban	Urban as per cent of rural
0-5	115.1	115.1	100.0	124.3	124.3	100.0
5-10	200.3	199.5	99.6	179.5	179.5	100.0
10-20	255.0	258.7	101.5	224.0	233.1	104.1
20-30	317.7	325.3	102.4	273.6	296.3	108.3
30-40	383.9	293.3	102.4	321.8	360.6	112.1
40-50	485.0	497.4	102.6	377.9	451.2	119.4
50-60	578.1	671.2	116.1	438.3	551.5	125.8
60-70	677.9	934.4	137.8	503.9	676.6	134.3
70-80	794.6	1149.6	144.7	590.7	832.5	140.9
80-90	1,002.9	1,510.5	150.6	745.6	1,093.7	146.7
90-95	1,293.2	2,056.2	159.0	961.4	1,488.9	154.9
95-100	2,282.6	3,462.5	151.7	1,697.0	2,507.0	147.7
All Sections	644.1	865.7	134.4	495.7	664.5	134.1

SOURCE Dandekar and Rath, op cit., p 63

TABLE 154.—PER CAPITA ANNUAL CONSUMER EXPENDITURE IN DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS IN 1960-61 AND 1967-68 (REVISED ESTIMATES RS. AT 1960-61 PRICES)

Section of population	1960-61			1967-68		
	Rural	Urban	Urban as per cent of Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban as per cent of Rural
0-5	75.6	96.2	127.2	74.8	78.2	104.5
5-10	100.4	129.7	129.2	102.0	112.4	110.2
10-20	124.2	156.1	125.7	126.5	145.7	115.2
20-30	150.1	191.0	127.2	153.4	183.3	119.5
30-40	174.4	223.8	128.3	179.0	220.1	123.0
40-50	198.0	256.6	129.6	205.3	259.5	126.4
50-60	227.0	295.8	130.3	236.2	304.4	128.9
60-70	258.5	342.5	132.5	269.8	358.9	133.0
70-80	303.1	421.3	139.0	316.3	441.6	139.6
80-90	382.5	553.5	144.7	399.2	580.2	145.3
90-95	493.3	753.4	152.7	514.8	789.8	153.4
95-100	870.6	1,268.3	145.7	908.6	1,330.0	146.4
All Sections	258.8	356.4	137.7	268.6	364.9	135.9

SOURCE: Dandekar and Rath, op. cit., p. 43.

TABLE 155.—ESTIMATED PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION IN 1980-81 (AT 1968-69 PRICES) IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PLAN PERSPECTIVE

Section of population	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF					
	Rural Population			Urban Population		
	1968-69	1980-81	Index with 1968-69	1968-69	1980-81	Index with 1968-69
	Rs.	Rs.	base	Rs.	Rs.	base
0-5	127.2	115.1	90.5	133.1	115.1	86.5
5-10	173.4	200.3	115.5	191.3	199.5	104.3
10-20	215.0	255.0	118.6	248.0	258.7	104.3
20-30	260.8	317.7	121.8	311.9	325.3	104.3
30-40	304.3	383.9	126.2	374.6	393.3	105.0
40-50	349.0	485.0	139.0	441.6	497.4	112.6
50-60	401.5	578.1	144.0	518.0	671.2	129.6
60-70	458.7	677.9	147.8	610.8	934.4	153.0
70-80	537.7	794.6	147.8	751.5	1,149.6	153.0
80-90	678.6	1,002.9	147.8	997.4	1,510.5	153.0
90-95	875.1	1,293.2	147.8	1,344.1	2,056.2	153.0
95-100	1,544.6	2,282.6	147.8	2,263.4	3,462.5	153.0
All Sections	456.6	644.1	141.1	621.0	865.7	139.4

SOURCE: Dandekar and Rath, op. cit., p. 59.

Section XIII: Population Projections

TABLE 159—BIRTH, DEATH AND GROWTH RATES, 1961-81

<i>Years</i>	<i>Birth Rate</i>	<i>Death Rate</i>	<i>Growth Rate</i>
1961-65	41.0	17.2	23.8
1966-70	38.6	14.0	24.6
1971-75	35.1	11.3	23.8
1976-80	28.7	9.2	19.5

TABLE 160—PROJECTED VALUES OF EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH 1961-81

<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
1961-65	48.7	47.4
1966-70	53.2	51.9
1971-75	57.3	56.0
1976-80	61.1	59.8

TABLE 161—PROJECTIONS OF TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION
FOR THE PERIOD 1961-81

<i>Year</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of urban to total population</i>	<i>% of rural to total population</i>
<i>(Figures in millions)</i>					
1961	79	360	439	17.97	82.03
1966	94	401	495	18.91	81.09
1971	112	448	560	19.93	80.07
1976	132	498	630	20.90	79.10
1981	152	543	695	21.87	78.13

TABLE 162.—AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF THE PROJECTED
POPULATION DURING 1961-81

<i>Year</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
1961-66	3.46	2.18	2.41
1966-71	3.58	2.23	2.49
1971-76	3.38	2.16	2.40
1976-81	2.91	1.72	1.97

TABLE 158.—ESTIMATED PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS WHEN THE CONSUMPTION OF THE SECOND TEN PER CENT WILL BE RS. 324 PER CAPITA PER ANNUM (RS. AT 1968-69 PRICES)

Section of population	PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF					
	Rural Population			Urban Population		
	1968-69	Target	Index with 1968-69 base	1968-69	Target	Index with 1968-69 base
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	
0-5	127.2	127.2	100.0	133.1	127.2	95.6
5-10	173.4	245.0	141.3	191.3	245.0	128.1
10-20	215.0	324.0	150.7	248.0	324.0	130.6
20-30	260.8	419.0	160.7	311.9	419.0	134.3
30-40	304.3	532.3	174.9	374.6	532.3	142.1
40-50	349.0	770.2	220.7	441.6	770.2	174.4
50-60	401.5	961.6	240.0	518.0	965.7	186.4
60-70	458.7	1,172.2	255.5	610.8	1,696.5	277.8
70-80	537.7	1,374.0	255.5	751.5	2,087.3	277.8
80-90	678.6	1,734.1	255.5	987.4	2,742.5	277.8
90-95	875.1	2,236.2	255.5	1,344.1	3,733.2	277.8
95-100	1,544.6	3,947.1	255.5	2,263.4	6,286.5	277.8
All Sections	456.6	1,056.7	231.4	621.0	1,473.4	237.3

SOURCE: Dandekar and Rath, op cit., p. 66.

TABLE 166 PROJECTIONS OF POPULATION IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS 1961-81

(Figures in 000's)

Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Male		Total	Male		Total	Male		Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	0-14								
	15-34								
1961	91 817	88 650	180 467	75 862	73 818	149 680	15 955	14 832	30 787
1966	105 219	101 020	206 239	86 133	83 004	169 137	19 086	18 016	37 102
1971	119 214	113 489	232 703	96 337	92 075	188 412	22 877	21 414	44 291
1976	130 856	123 200	254 056	104 501	98 731	203 232	26 355	24 469	50 824
1981	135 054	126 539	261 593	106 603	100 165	206 768	28 451	26 374	54 825
	35-59								
1961	75 083	70 754	145 837	59 688	58 232	117 920	15 395	12 522	27 917
1966	82 917	78 001	160 918	64 308	63 219	127 527	18 609	14 782	33 391
1971	91 031	88 032	181 063	71 195	70 439	141 634	21 836	17 593	39 429
1976	107 035	101 712	208 747	80 951	80 388	161 339	26 084	21 324	47 408
1981	123 867	117 398	241 265	92 643	91 644	184 287	31 224	25 754	56 978
	60-64								
1961	48 780	42 833	91 613	39 232	35 887	75 119	9 548	6 946	16 494
1966	54 648	48 394	103 042	43 700	40 234	83 934	10 948	8 160	19 108
1971	61 560	55 188	116 748	48 583	45 307	93 890	12 977	9 881	22 858
1976	69 296	63 070	132 366	54 054	51 147	105 201	15 242	11 923	27 165
1981	78 010	71 830	149 840	60 158	57 534	117 692	17 852	14 296	32 148

(contd.)

TABLE 163.—SEX RATIO FOR THE TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION DURING 1961-81

<i>Year</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
1961	845	963	941
1966	846	961	938
1971	851	961	938
1976	855	960	937
1981	860	959	936

TABLE 164 —LABOUR FORCE—ALL INDIA, 1961-81

(Figures in millions)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>
1961	137.9	24.3	162.2
1966	152.8	28.8	181.6
1971	169.1	34.3	203.4
1976	189.7	41.3	231.0
1981	213.6	49.6	263.2

NOTE: Labour force figures are given for the age-group: 15-59.

TABLE 165.—LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES IN DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1961-81

<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	15-34	35-59	15-34	35-59
RURAL				
1961	91.1	97.5	49.8	52.3
1966	90.1	97.0	49.8	52.3
1971	89.6	97.0	49.3	51.8
1976	89.1	96.5	48.8	51.3
1981	88.6	96.5	48.3	50.8
URBAN				
1961	76.9	93.3	15.8	22.9
1966	75.9	93.3	16.8	23.9
1971	73.4	93.3	18.8	24.9
1976	74.9	93.3	20.8	25.9
1981	74.4	93.3	22.8	26.9

TABLE 167—URBAN POPULATION BY SIZE CLASS OF TOWNS AND FUNCTIONAL TYPES 1961-81

(In thousands)

Size Class	Year	Service	Trade and Transport	Manufacturing	Agriculture	Total
I and II	1961	18 031	5 403	23 951	177	47 564
	1966	21 741	6 416	28 905	212	57 274
	1971	26 346	7 644	35 174	261	69 425
	1976	31 608	9 030	42 176	307	83 121
	1981	36 989	10 445	49 312	352	97 108
III to VI	1961	11 691	3 755	9 756	6 171	31 373
	1966	13 570	4 513	11 746	6 218	36 277
	1971	15 804	5 443	13 047	7 829	42 123
	1976	18 310	6 504	15 002	8 793	48 609
	1981	20 755	7 623	16 845	9 655	54 878
I to VI	1961	29 722	9 160	33 707	6 348	7 337
	1966	35 311	10 929	40 151	7 159	93 550
	1971	42 150	13 087	48 221	8 090	1 1 548
	1976	49 918	15 534	57 178	9 100	131 730
	1981	57 744	18 068	66 157	10 017	151 986

TABLE 166 (contd.)

(Figures in '000's)

Year	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
	60 +								
1961	10,613	10,705	21,318	8,722	8,857	17,579	1,891	1,848	3,739
1966	12,445	12,437	24,882	10,424	10,211	20,635	2,021	1,926	3,947
1971	14,940	14,168	29,108	12,361	11,779	24,140	2,579	2,389	4,968
1976	18,140	16,893	35,033	14,824	13,875	28,699	3,316	3,018	6,334
1971	21,906	20,292	42,198	17,697	16,463	34,160	4,209	3,829	8,038
	All Ages								
1961	226,293	212,942	439,235	183,504	176,794	360,298	42,789	36,148	78,937
1966	255,229	239,552	494,781	204,565	196,668	401,233	50,664	42,884	93,548
1971	288,745	270,877	559,622	228,476	219,600	448,076	60,269	51,277	111,546
1976	325,327	304,875	630,202	254,330	244,141	498,471	70,997	60,734	131,731
1981	358,837	336,059	694,896	277,101	265,806	542,907	81,736	70,253	151,989

TABLE 175.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND RESIDENCE 1971

Age groups	Total Rural Urban	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced & separated		Unspecified	
		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males	
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	2										
0-9	Total	100.00	100.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Rural	100.00	100.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Urban	100.00	100.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-14	Total	95.4	88.1	4.4	11.7	—	0.1	—	—	0.2	0.1
	Rural	94.7	86.2	5.2	13.6	—	0.1	—	—	0.1	0.1
	Urban	98.5	95.8	1.2	3.9	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.3
15-19	Total	82.2	42.9	17.4	56.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1
	Rural	78.9	36.9	20.7	62.2	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1
	Urban	92.6	63.3	7.0	35.6	0.1	0.2	—	0.2	0.3	0.2
20-24	Total	50.3	9.1	48.6	89.4	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.2	—
	Rural	44.1	6.2	54.7	92.1	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.7	0.2	—
	Urban	67.2	19.1	32.0	79.7	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.1
25-29	Total	18.9	1.9	29.3	95.6	1.2	1.9	0.4	0.6	0.2	—
	Rural	15.8	1.3	82.2	96.1	1.4	1.9	0.5	0.7	0.1	—
	Urban	23.7	4.5	70.1	93.5	0.7	1.5	0.2	0.5	0.3	—
30-34	Total	7.2	0.9	50.0	94.5	2.1	3.9	0.5	0.7	0.2	—
	Rural	6.4	0.6	50.6	94.6	2.4	4.1	0.5	0.7	0.1	—
	Urban	10.0	1.9	88.2	94.1	1.3	3.5	0.2	0.5	0.3	—

Statistical Profile

TABLE 173.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1971
(1% Sample Basis)

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
0-14	42.02	42.77	39.03
15-19	8.66	8.32	10.03
20-24	7.86	7.43	9.58
25-29	7.45	7.26	8.21
30-39	12.60	12.44	13.29
40-49	9.34	9.33	9.34
50-59	6.08	6.22	5.53
60+	5.97	6.21	4.97
Age not stated	0.02	0.02	0.02
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 174.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 10 YEARS
AND ABOVE BY MARITAL STATUS: 1961 AND 1971

<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>		<i>Total</i>	
		<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Unmarried	1961	31.9	15.8	39.5	24.2	33.4	17.2
	1971	35.1	20.2	43.0	29.2	36.8	22.0
Married	1961	61.8	67.5	56.4	61.1	60.7	66.5
	1971	59.9	66.3	53.8	59.3	58.5	64.9
Widowed	1961	6.6	15.8	3.7	14.0	5.2	15.5
	1971	4.6	12.9	2.7	11.0	4.2	12.5
Divorced/ separated	1961	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.7
	1971	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5
Unspecified status	1961	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1971	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1

TABLE 176.—LITERACY RATES OF POPULATION BY SEX
(EXCLUDING AGE GROUP 0-4)

Sl No	Sex	Rural		Urban		Total	
		1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
1.	Males	34.2	38.8	66.0	69.5	40.4	45.3
2.	Females	10.1	15.1	40.5	48.0	15.3	21.5
3.	Persons	22.4	27.0	54.4	59.7	28.3	33.8

TABLE 175 (contd.)

Age groups	Total Rural Urban	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced & separated		Unspecified	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
35-39	Total	4.0	0.6	92.7	91.7	2.8	7.0	0.4	0.7	0.1	—
	Rural	3.7	0.4	92.6	91.7	3.1	7.2	0.5	0.7	0.1	—
	Urban	5.2	1.1	92.7	92.1	1.6	6.2	0.3	0.6	0.2	—
40-44	Total	3.5	0.6	91.4	84.5	4.6	14.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	—
	Rural	3.4	0.5	91.0	84.5	5.0	14.3	0.5	0.7	0.1	—
	Urban	4.0	1.0	92.7	84.9	2.9	13.5	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1
45-49	Total	2.9	0.4	90.7	78.5	5.9	20.4	0.4	0.7	0.1	—
	Rural	2.8	0.3	90.2	78.7	6.5	20.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	—
	Urban	3.1	0.9	92.4	77.7	4.0	20.9	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1
50-54	Total	2.8	0.4	86.9	62.5	9.7	36.5	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.1
	Rural	2.8	0.4	86.3	62.8	10.4	36.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	—
	Urban	3.0	0.8	89.8	60.9	6.7	37.7	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.1
55-59	Total	2.6	0.4	85.1	58.1	11.9	41.1	0.3	0.4	0.1	—
	Rural	2.5	0.3	84.5	58.7	12.5	40.5	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1
	Urban	2.8	0.6	87.7	55.1	9.1	43.7	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1
60-64	Total	2.6	0.3	79.3	36.7	17.6	62.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
	Rural	2.6	0.3	78.8	37.1	18.1	62.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	—
	Urban	2.8	0.6	81.9	34.9	14.7	64.0	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1

(contd.)

TABLE 177.—LITERACY RATES BY AGE GROUPS IN URBAN AREAS: 1971

Age-group	Total	Males	Females
All ages	52.0	61.0	41.5
0-4	—	—	—
5-9	44.0	46.4	41.6
10-14	75.9	81.1	70.1
15-19	76.3	82.6	68.9
20-24	70.7	81.2	58.1
25-34	61.0	73.7	45.9
35+	48.9	64.0	29.8
Age not stated	32.1	40.0	23.9

TABLE 178.—DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN URBAN AREAS: 1971

Sl. No.	Educational level	Total	Males	Females
1.	Total literates	100.0	100.0	100.0
2.	Literates without educational levels	27.3	24.7	31.6
3.	Literates with educational levels	72.7	75.3	68.4
4.	Primary	27.9	26.0	31.4
5.	Middle	21.3	21.8	20.4
6.	Matriculates or Higher Secondary	18.2	21.0	13.4
7.	Non-technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.2	0.2	0.1
8.	Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.4	0.5	0.2
9.	Graduate degree other than technical degree	3.1	3.8	1.9
10.	Post-graduate degree other than technical degree	0.8	1.0	0.6
11.	Technical degree or diploma equal to degree or post-graduate degree	0.8	1.0	0.4
12.	Engineering and technology	0.3	0.4	neg.
13.	Medicine	0.2	0.2	0.1
14.	Agriculture, veterinary and dairying	neg.	neg.	neg.
15.	Teaching	0.2	0.2	0.3
16.	Others	neg.	neg.	neg.

TABLE 179.—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1971

Religion	Total	Rural	Urban
Hindus	82.72	84.35	76.24
Muslims	11.21	9.95	16.21
Christians	2.60	2.43	3.26
Sikhs	1.89	1.91	1.82
Buddhists	0.70	0.65	0.88
Jains	0.47	0.24	1.43
Other religions and persuasions	0.40	0.46	0.15
Religion not stated	0.01	0.01	0.01
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 182.—VITAL RATES FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, INDIA 1961-70

Source	Period	Birth rate	Death rate	Infant mortality rate
<i>Vital Statistics for India</i>				
(for States of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu combined where registered data are reliable)	1962	31.6	12.6	83
	1963	31.1	12.3	83
	1964	30.4	11.6	80
	1965	30.8	10.9	72
	1966	29.7	11.3	75
<i>National Sample Survey</i>				
		RURAL		
17th round	Sept. 1961—July 1962	36.0	12.0	111
18th round	Feb. 1963—Jan. 1964	37.6	12.4	126
19th round	July 1964—Jan. 1965	37.1	13.0	115
20th round	July 1965—Aug. 1966	37.1	12.2	108
21st round	July 1966—Aug. 1967	36.7	11.1	—
		URBAN		
17th round	Sept. 1961—July 1962	34.0	8.0	81
18th round	Feb. 1963—Jan. 1964	31.9	8.1	90
19th round	July 1964—Jan. 1965	32.0	8.0	79
20th round	July 1965—Aug. 1966	29.2	5.5	67
21st round	July 1966—Aug. 1967	31.3	7.1	—
Sample registration	1968	30.0	16.8	NA
Rural	1969	38.8	19.1	
	1970	38.8	17.3	
Urban	1969	32.6*	11.4*	NA
	1970	29.7	10.2	
Total	1968	37.6	17.6	NA
	1970	37.0	15.9	

* The field work in urban areas of most of the states was initiated from the second half of 1969. Hence the annual rates for 1969 in respect of urban areas are based only on data relating to states common to both half years.

NA = Not available

TABLE 181.—WORKING FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE AND SEX: 1961 AND 1971

Age Groups	Rural India		Urban India		All India	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1971 Census						
All ages	53.4	13.1	48.8	6.6	52.5	11.8
0-14	7.5	2.9	2.7	0.8	6.6	2.5
15-19	62.1	18.3	33.1	5.4	55.2	15.4
20-24	86.3	20.2	67.4	9.4	81.2	17.8
25-29	95.3	21.7	90.5	11.6	94.1	19.7
30-39	97.5	23.4	95.4	13.0	97.1	21.4
40-49	97.5	24.1	95.1	14.4	97.1	22.3
50-59	95.4	20.7	87.8	12.6	94.0	19.3
60+	77.4	11.3	55.3	6.4	73.7	10.4
Age not stated	29.5	5.8	52.3	7.6	33.8	6.0
1961 Census						
All ages	58.2	31.4	52.3	11.0	57.1	27.9
0-14	10.6	7.6	3.5	1.5	9.3	6.6
15-34	91.1	49.7	76.9	15.7	88.0	43.6
35-59	97.4	52.2	93.3	22.8	96.6	47.5
60+	79.8	24.3	58.4	11.4	76.6	22.3
Age not stated	29.9	13.4	27.4	6.2	29.6	12.6

TABLE 184—PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1971

States	Rural/ Urban	Total Workers	I	II	III	IV	V ₁	V ₂	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Andhra Pradesh	Rural	100.00	36.64	42.50	1.59	0.40	4.73	2.11	1.02	2.95	0.72	5.34
	Urban	100.00	5.58	10.61	1.55	1.32	5.54	16.65	4.96	20.22	10.92	22.65
Assam	Rural	100.00	62.24	10.42	11.44	0.23	1.12	1.62	0.68	3.26	1.09	7.90
	Urban	100.00	5.46	1.49	1.98	1.25	3.47	12.65	3.97	26.80	15.14	27.79
Bihar	Rural	100.00	46.86	41.76	0.94	0.74	2.25	1.27	0.28	1.75	0.77	3.38
	Urban	100.00	8.28	10.60	1.18	8.78	4.70	15.86	3.45	18.38	8.90	19.88
Gujarat	Rural	100.00	55.43	28.34	2.15	0.35	2.75	2.64	0.62	2.72	1.06	3.94
	Urban	100.00	5.42	4.55	1.45	0.64	3.00	29.48	3.92	19.89	8.37	23.28
Haryana	Rural	100.00	58.09	18.88	1.51	0.23	3.47	3.43	1.51	2.88	1.10	8.90
	Urban	100.00	6.87	3.86	0.64	0.00	2.26	22.10	3.43	24.68	8.58	27.58
Himachal Pradesh	Rural	100.00	75.23	4.35	2.68	0.08	2.59	1.09	3.10	1.59	0.84	8.45
	Urban	100.00	4.82	1.20	3.61	0.00	2.41	8.43	16.88	15.66	7.23	39.76
Jammu & Kashmir	Rural	100.00	76.11	3.31	3.49	0.09	3.40	0.69	1.66	1.92	1.57	7.76
	Urban	100.00	7.49	1.76	4.40	0.44	7.05	13.22	5.29	17.18	11.89	31.28
Kerala	Rural	100.00	20.24	34.37	7.35	0.51	4.39	10.15	1.61	7.40	2.84	11.13
	Urban	100.00	4.06	9.95	4.92	0.32	3.64	18.82	2.46	18.61	9.84	27.38
Madhya Pradesh	Rural	100.00	59.43	29.52	1.67	0.36	3.16	0.80	0.44	1.26	0.32	3.04
	Urban	100.00	6.66	5.72	1.84	2.62	7.03	18.78	3.25	16.89	8.55	28.65
Maharashtra	Rural	100.00	47.51	38.15	1.62	0.22	2.96	2.13	0.84	1.85	0.61	4.11
	Urban	100.00	3.48	5.68	1.58	0.33	3.34	30.96	3.26	19.70	9.57	22.10

(contd.)

Section XV: Supplementary Tables, 1973

TABLE 183.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY SEX, AGE GROUPS IN TOTAL, RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, INDIA, 1971

Age Group	Rural		Urban		Total Workers	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-14	6.04	9.60	2.12	5.04	5.29	9.12
15-19	9.93	11.34	6.89	8.18	9.34	11.01
20-24	11.35	12.13	13.47	13.48	11.76	12.27
25-29	12.28	12.72	15.22	14.44	12.84	12.91
30-39	22.28	22.67	26.77	25.28	23.15	22.96
40-49	17.50	16.71	19.67	18.52	17.92	16.89
50-59	11.55	9.47	10.47	9.94	11.34	9.52
60+	9.06	5.35	5.37	5.10	8.35	5.31
Not stated	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 185 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN RURAL AREAS, INDIA, 1971

<i>Educational Levels</i>	<i>Workers</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Total	100 00	100 00	100 00
Illiterate	70 11	65 02	92 11
Literate (without educational level)	10 68	12.40	3 22
Primary	11 00	12.84	3 04
Middle	5 10	6 08	0 87
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	2 57	3 04	0 50
Non-Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0 04	0 05	0 03
Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0 10	0 09	0 13
Graduate and above	0 40	0 48	0 10

TABLE 186 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON WORKERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN RURAL AREAS, INDIA, 1971

<i>Educational Levels</i>	<i>Non-Workers</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Total	100 00	100 00	100 00
Illiterate	89 11	68 99	86 37
Literate (without educational level)	9 41	14 63	6 47
Primary	6 21	8 47	4 94
Middle	3 06	5 42	1 73
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	1 09	2.24	0 44
Non-Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0 01	0 02	0 01
Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0 02	0 03	0 01
Graduate and above	0 09	0 20	0 03

TABLE 184. (contd.)

States	Rural/ Urban	Total Workers	I	II	III	IV	V ₁	V ₂	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Mysore	Rural	100 00	48.39	31.40	4.68	0.41	3.66	2.16	1.18	2.52	0.66	4.94
	Urban	100 00	8.00	8.72	1.98	0.90	6.78	20.18	4.12	18.73	10.43	20.17
Orissa	Rural	100 00	52.87	30.20	2.06	0.64	3.58	1.29	0.38	1.96	0.64	6.38
	Urban	100 00	7.65	6.76	3.02	2.13	4.28	13.70	2.49	18.33	10.50	31.14
Punjab	Rural	100 00	53.64	24.79	1.06	0.03	3.42	3.26	1.56	3.19	1.26	7.78
	Urban	100 00	5.64	4.54	0.55	0.00	2.32	24.34	3.43	25.00	7.85	26.33
Rajasthan	Rural	100 00	74.24	10.35	2.86	0.44	2.86	1.13	0.71	1.98	0.65	4.78
	Urban	100 00	10.39	3.31	0.67	0.51	6.73	15.25	4.34	18.98	9.78	30.04
Tamil Nadu	Rural	100 00	40.29	38.10	2.56	0.36	3.65	4.10	0.96	3.35	0.85	5.78
	Urban	100 00	4.96	8.20	3.24	0.29	7.14	22.61	3.42	20.85	9.92	19.37
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	100 00	64.88	22.22	0.58	0.04	3.10	1.48	0.36	1.76	0.48	5.10
	Urban	100 00	5.48	4.18	0.82	0.06	7.61	18.52	2.36	20.13	10.44	30.40
West Bengal	Rural	100 00	43.08	34.99	3.73	1.20	2.64	3.66	0.53	3.01	1.38	5.78
	Urban	100 00	1.51	3.03	0.76	0.21	2.87	32.51	2.29	21.42	11.88	23.52

Industrial categories :

- I Cultivators.
- II Agricultural Labourers.
- III. Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards, and allied Activities.
- IV. Mining and Quarrying.
- V₁. Manufacturing in Household Industry.

V₂. Manufacturing in other than Household Industry.

VI. Construction.

VII. Trade and Commerce

VIII. Transport, Storage and Communications.

IX. Other Services.

TABLE 187 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN URBAN AREAS, INDIA, 1971

<i>Educational Levels</i>	<i>Workers</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Illiterate	35.48	31.97	65.90
Literate (without educational level)	10.87	11.54	5.03
Primary	17.17	18.42	6.33
Middle	14.19	15.30	4.55
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	16.11	16.67	11.30
Non-Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.15	0.15	0.18
Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.50	0.46	0.83
Graduate degree other than technical degree	3.36	3.44	2.65
Post-graduate degree other than technical degree	1.12	1.07	1.52
Engineering and technology	0.42	0.47	0.04
Medicine	0.26	0.24	0.46
Agriculture, veterinary and dairying	0.04	0.04	0.01
Teaching	0.30	0.20	1.16
Others	0.03	0.03	0.04

TABLE 188 — PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WORKERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN URBAN AREAS, INDIA, 1971

<i>Educational Levels</i>	<i>Non-Workers</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Illiterate	53.21	45.74	57.98
Literate (without educational level)	15.54	18.46	13.68
Primary	13.48	13.48	13.48
Middle	9.77	11.39	8.74
Matriculation or Higher Secondary	6.71	9.15	5.15
Non-Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.06	0.08	0.04
Technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree	0.07	0.11	0.04
Graduate degree other than technical degree	0.87	1.19	0.68
Post-graduate degree other than technical degree	0.16	0.19	0.14
Engineering and technology	0.04	0.10	0.01
Medicine	0.04	0.07	0.01
Agriculture, veterinary and dairying	0.00	0.00	0.00
Teaching	0.04	0.03	0.05
Others	0.01	0.01	0.00

TABLE 192—ANNUAL (1970-71) MIGRATION STREAMS IN INDIA, 1971

Type of Migration Stream	Population			Percent distribution		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1. Short-distance (within the district)						
A. Rural to rural	2,782,200	1,209,200	1,573,000	38.1	32.5	43.9
B. Urban to rural	344,100	181,800	162,300	4.7	4.9	4.5
C. Rural to urban	521,800	288,100	233,700	7.1	7.7	6.5
D. Urban to urban	233,100	127,600	105,500	3.2	3.4	3.0
Sub-Total	3,881,200	1,806,700	2,074,500	53.1	48.5	57.9
2. Medium-distance (within the state)						
A. Rural to rural	992,700	493,500	499,200	13.6	13.2	13.9
B. Urban to rural	290,500	169,100	121,400	4.0	4.5	3.4
C. Rural to urban	365,400	207,200	158,200	5.0	5.6	4.4
D. Urban to urban	447,800	251,400	196,400	6.1	6.8	5.5
Sub-Total	2,096,400	1,121,200	975,200	28.7	30.1	27.2
3. Long-distance (between states)						
A. Rural to rural	443,200	248,600	194,600	6.1	6.7	5.4
B. Urban to rural	205,300	128,400	76,900	2.8	3.4	2.1
C. Rural to urban	321,100	203,900	117,200	4.4	5.5	3.3
D. Urban to urban	359,900	214,500	145,400	4.9	5.8	4.1
Sub-Total	1,329,500	795,400	534,100	18.2	21.4	14.9
Grand-Total	7,307,100	3,723,300	3,583,800	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 191.—LIFE-TIME MIGRATION IN INDIA, 1971

Type of Migration Stream	Population			Percent distribution		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1. Short-distance (within the district)						
A. Rural to rural	93,003,300	19,544,900	73,458,400	56.0	39.0	63.4
B. Urban to rural	4,598,500	1,727,800	2,870,700	2.8	3.4	2.5
C. Rural to urban	10,636,000	4,616,900	6,019,100	6.4	9.2	5.2
D. Urban to urban	3,644,100	1,650,500	1,993,600	2.2	3.3	1.7
Sub-Total	111,881,900	27,540,100	84,341,800	67.4	54.9	72.8
2. Medium-distance (within the state)						
A. Rural to rural	18,489,300	4,738,300	13,751,000	11.1	9.4	11.9
B. Urban to rural	2,964,000	1,262,500	1,701,500	1.8	2.6	1.5
C. Rural to urban	7,265,300	3,869,200	3,396,100	4.4	7.7	2.9
D. Urban to urban	7,039,800	3,460,300	3,579,500	4.2	6.9	3.1
Sub-Total	35,758,400	13,330,300	22,428,100	21.5	26.6	19.4
3. Long-distance (between states)						
A. Rural to rural	6,083,500	2,157,700	3,925,800	3.7	4.3	3.4
B. Urban to rural	1,611,200	835,000	776,200	1.0	1.7	0.6
C. Rural to urban	5,174,600	3,267,000	1,907,600	3.1	6.5	1.6
D. Urban to urban	5,541,600	3,041,000	2,500,600	3.3	6.0	2.2
Sub-Total	18,410,900	9,300,700	9,110,200	11.1	18.5	7.8
Grand-Total	166,051,200	50,171,100	115,880,100	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 196.—PERCENT OF MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE, 1971
(excluding the unclassified category)

States	Rural Rural		Urban Rural		Rural Urban		Urban Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	26 16	41 84	7 67	7 68	34 86	25 86	31 31	24 62
Assam	38 35	44 10	18 04	16 32	16 69	12 21	26 92	27 37
Bihar	32 10	61 25	4 23	5 41	44 67	20 05	19 00	13 29
Gujarat	7 37	16 37	6 95	5 06	44 45	38 50	41 23	40 07
Haryana	25 35	52 80	5 92	5 25	33 62	19 88	35 11	22 07
Jammu & Kashmir	15 54	22 12	16 83	10 91	22 76	12 73	44 87	54 24
Kerala	13 61	17 02	7 09	8 44	38 29	32 72	41 01	41 82
Madhya Pradesh	30 09	60 77	8 12	7 91	36 01	11 92	25 78	19 40
Maharashtra	20 71	35 84	21 51	15 63	17 53	14 84	40 25	33 69
Mysore	20 98	39 24	10 35	10 32	28 80	20 60	39 87	29 84
Nagaland	25 82	52 46	32 26	29 51	12 90	8 20	29 03	9 83
Orissa	36 22	64 90	5 69	4 40	36 40	18 25	21 69	12 45
Punjab	33 54	42 07	8 56	7 90	23 37	18 43	34 53	31 60
Rajasthan	23 31	50 66	5 27	5 49	42 34	23 00	29 08	20 85
Tamil Nadu	25 41	32 97	12 12	12 05	26 53	20 21	35 94	34 77
Uttar Pradesh	15 52	40 64	3 84	4 94	52 00	28 38	28 64	26 04
West Bengal	27 75	47 03	22 21	13 96	13 59	9 89	36 45	29 12

TABLE 198.—PRACTICE OF FAMILY PLANNING IN URBAN AND RURAL INDIA, 1971

<i>Practice of Family Planning</i>	Percent of Couples		
	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>India</i>
Current Users	27.0	10.6	13.6
Past Users	8.6	3.7	4.6
Ever Users	35.6	14.3	18.2
Methods :			
Terminal Methods	36.6	49.1	44.8
Traditional Methods	24.4	31.8	29.2
Condom	29.4	11.8	18.3
IUCD	3.6	5.5	4.8
Other Conventional Contraceptives	6.0	1.8	2.9
Any Method	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 197.—VITAL RATES, INDIA, 1971

(Sample Registration System)

State		Birth Rate (Per 1000 population)	Death Rate (Per 1000 population)	Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1000 live births)
INDIA	Rural	38.8	16.4	114.8
	Urban	30.1	9.7	77.5
Andhra Pradesh	Rural	35.6	15.8	112.6
	Urban	31.3	9.1	63.7
Assam	Rural	39.3	18.7	131.4
	Urban	31.0	9.5	72.6
Bihar	Rural	33.2	14.6	N.A.
	Urban	27.9	9.4	69.5 (1970)
Gujarat	Rural	41.5	17.6	145.1
	Urban	35.8	13.0	108.7
Haryana	Rural	44.2	10.4	64.0
	Urban	32.4	7.3	52.0
Himachal Pradesh	Rural	38.2	16.2	114.9
	Urban	23.9	7.3	69.3
Jammu & Kashmir	Rural	36.0	11.7	74.1
	Urban	21.6	6.0	49.4
Kerala	Rural	30.9	8.9	58.1
	Urban	29.6	8.4	45.0
Madhya Pradesh	Rural	40.0	16.6	141.3
	Urban	34.3	9.7	75.6
Maharashtra	Rural	33.7	13.5	107.1
	Urban	29.0	9.7	82.2
Manipur	Rural	34.5	7.2	27.4
	Urban	26.4	5.5	11.1
Mysore	Rural	34.6	14.0	96.5 (1970)
	Urban	25.3	7.2	64.9 (1970)
Orissa	Rural	34.7	15.9	132.9
	Urban	33.0	10.0	79.1
Punjab	Rural	35.0	10.9	108.8
	Urban	31.4	8.7	71.7
Rajasthan	Rural	44.4	17.0	112.8
	Urban	33.4	9.3	74.2
Tamil Nadu	Rural	32.7	16.4	127.0
	Urban	27.8	9.3	91.0
Tripura	Rural	37.2	16.1	100.5
	Urban	23.1	7.6	77.2
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	46.3	21.1	173.4
	Urban	34.5	13.1	121.4
West Bengal	Rural (1969)	33.3	10.8	N.A.
	Urban (1971)	24.8	9.2	68.9

TABLE 200 —NET OMISSION RATE PER 1000
BY AGE & SEX INDIA 1971 Census

<i>Age</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Persons</i>
0	Rural	23.48	34.60	28.99
	Urban	43.14	58.46	50.72
	Total	26.84	38.65	32.69
1 - 4	Rural	16.83	18.80	17.80
	Urban	29.00	32.79	30.86
	Total	19.05	21.32	20.17
5 - 14	Rural	13.48	15.16	14.28
	Urban	22.59	22.56	22.58
	Total	15.19	16.56	15.84
15 - 34	Rural	13.93	17.00	15.48
	Urban	28.60	27.94	28.29
	Total	17.51	19.32	18.41
35 - 44	Rural	7.77	7.09	7.44
	Urban	27.28	19.38	23.82
	Total	12.09	9.44	10.83
45 - 59	Rural	4.57	13.69	8.80
	Urban	28.78	26.04	27.60
	Total	9.36	15.86	12.34
60 +	Rural	5.54	22.66	13.82
	Urban	27.22	37.90	29.81
	Total	8.32	25.19	16.48
All ages	Rural	12.19	16.19	14.14
	Urban	27.03	27.26	27.14
	Total	15.27	18.32	16.74

TABLE 199.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OMITTED (NET)
BY AGE & SEX, INDIA - 1971 CENSUS

<i>Age</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Persons</i>
0	Rural	5.84	6.70	6.32
	Urban	3.82	5.79	4.74
	Total	5.10	6.43	5.80
1 - 4	Rural	15.96	13.69	14.69
	Urban	10.58	13.15	11.78
	Total	13.97	13.54	13.76
5 - 14	Rural	31.43	25.56	28.16
	Urban	21.04	22.20	21.58
	Total	27.61	24.59	26.01
15 - 34	Rural	32.78	32.18	32.44
	Urban	37.45	35.39	36.50
	Total	34.40	33.10	33.76
35 - 44	Rural	7.14	4.84	5.86
	Urban	12.26	7.77	10.16
	Total	9.03	5.69	7.26
45 - 59	Rural	4.01	8.41	6.46
	Urban	10.90	8.50	9.78
	Total	6.54	8.43	7.54
60 -	Rural	2.84	8.62	6.07
	Urban	3.95	7.20	5.46
	Total	3.25	8.22	5.87
All ages	Rural	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Urban	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

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